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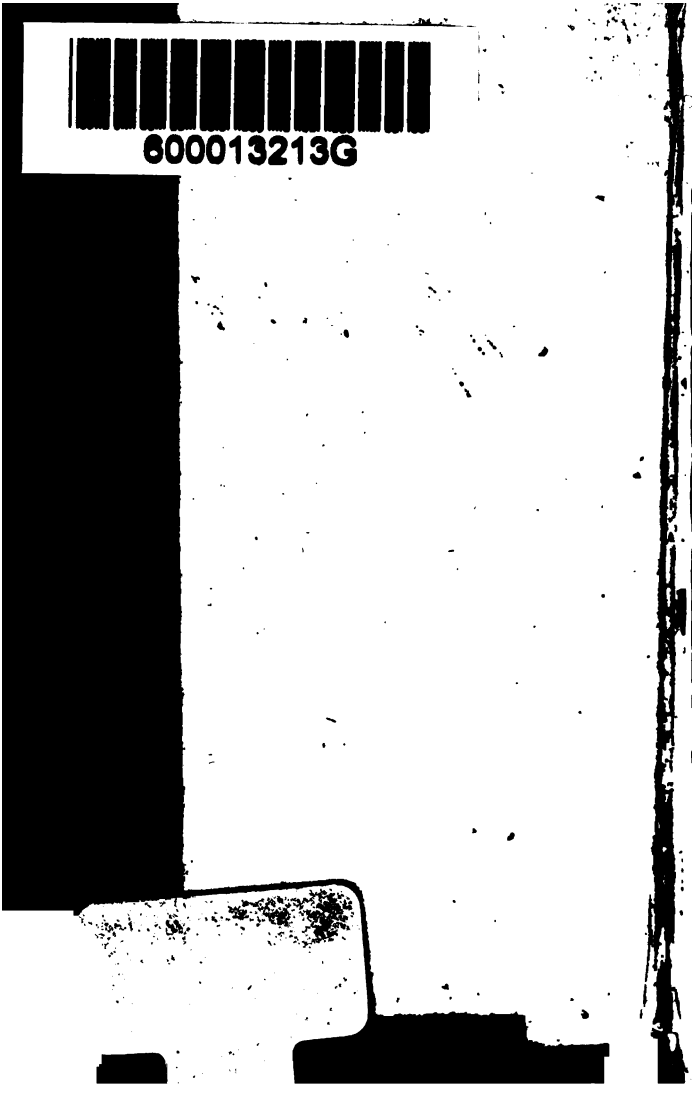
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Burnet del. Chapman sc.

(Alexander the Great viewing the Dead) body of Darius.

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UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN;

FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF TIME,

TO THE

GENERAL PEACE OF 1801.

IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR. LL. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

Factorum est copia nobis.

. . . . . .

Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, et tristia bella.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREECE,

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, LL. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES,

AUTHOR OF THE BRITISH NEPOS, &c. &c.

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CONTENTS.

Page

Chap. XI—*Affairs of Greece, from the Conclusion of the Peloponnesian War to the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, under Xenophon* 1

Chap. XII.—*The Affairs of Greece, from the Commencement of the memorable Retreat of the Ten thousand, under Xenophon, to the Peace of Antalcidas* - - - 32

Chap. XIII.—*Affairs of Greece, from the Peace of Antalcidas to the battle of Midea* 77

Chap. XIV—*Affairs of Greece, from the Battle of Midea to the conclusion of the Social War* 104

Chap. XV.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedonia, from the Conclusion of the Social War until the Birth of Alexander* - - - 131

Chap. XVI.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedonia, from the Birth of Alexander to the Conclusion of the Sacred War* - - - 158

Chap. XVII.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Conclusion of the Phocian War to the Death of Philip* - - - 186

Chap. XVIII.—*Affairs of Greece and Macecedon, from the death of Philip to the Battle of Arbela, which secured Alexander the dominion of Asia* - - - - 209

Chap-

Chap. XIX.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Battle of Arbela to the Death of Alexander the Great* - - 248

Chap. XX.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Death of Alexander the Great to the Battle of Ipsus* - - - 272

Chap. XXI.—*Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the battle of Ipsus to the Time when those Countries became Provinces of Rome* 316

THE

HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER XI.

Affairs of Greece, from the Conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, to the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks under Xenophon.

WHEN Lysander had demolished the walls and fortifications of Athens, it still remained for him to reduce the island of Samos, which was honourably distinguished by being the last settlement in the east that opposed the ambition of Pericles, and was now the last which submitted to the arms of Lysander. The Spartan government, with an unaccountable infatuation, ruled the islands and cities that voluntarily accepted the yoke, or reluctantly surrendered to the power of Lacedæmon, in an equally arbitrary and tyrannical manner. In every place there existed some hostile factions, which danger or ambition had fostered; and the party that seemed to possess most craft and least patriotism was always preferred by Lysander. Over the cabal which thus appeared likely to favour the views and the interest of Sparta, he placed a Lacedæmonian governor, on whose obsequiousness he could faithfully depend. The citadels were garrisoned

risoned with mercenary soldiers; the faction in power tyrannised over the rest of the inhabitants, whom they had formerly envied as rivals, or dreaded as enemies; and every species of licentiousness and disorder was exercised with a boldness and presumption that nothing could equal but the tameness and servility with which they were endured. The Asiatic Greeks no longer complained of the exorbitant contributions that had been formerly exacted from them, when Lysander compelled them to pay the enormous tribute of a thousand talents. The dishonourable yoke of Persia, and the stern dominion of Athens, they had once greatly regretted; but both these were light, compared to the oppressive cruelty and exactions of Lysander.

From the hardships and cruelties inflicted on the Athenians, we may collect the arbitrary and severe treatment of the Spartans toward their Asiatic colonies and dependencies. The Athenians had surrendered their fleet; their walls and fortifications were demolished; the citadel was garrisoned with Lacedæmonian troops in the pay of Athens, under the command of Callibius, a Spartan; and their government was usurped by thirty men, the dependants and the creatures of Lysander. Critias was at the head of this aristocratical council, the members of which have been justly branded in history with the title of the thirty tyrants. Pretending to deliver the state from the malice of informers, and the turbulence of seditious demagogues, they destroyed the most valuable and virtuous persons of the community. Niceratus, the son of Nicias, who, possessing the wealth, inherited also the splendid virtues of his father, and was extremely B. C. 404.

beloved by the people, was condemned to death. Leon, the most public spirited, and Antiphon, the most renowned for his eloquence, of any of his contemporaries, suffered the same fate; and Thrasybulus and Anytus were driven into banishment. The powerful were regarded as dangerous; and the opulent accused as criminal; strangers and citizens underwent the same oppression.

But while the tyrants exercised this oppressive cruelty, which they probably considered as necessary for establishing their usurpation in permanence, and for insuring the safety of themselves, the downfall of their administration was thereby precipitated. The Athenians, whose sufferings seemed no longer supportable, wanted only a leader to rouse them to arms, and to conduct them to victory and vengeance. The Lacedæmonians were at this time engaged in extending and completing their conquests over the colonies of Asia: and therefore could not spare any of their forces to increase the garrison in Athens. The abilities and resentment of Alcibiades pointed him out as the person most able to undertake the arduous and honourable design of reassembling the scattered fugitives, and of animating them with courage to attempt the recovery of their country. After the Lacedæmonians had become masters of the Hellespont, that illustrious Athenian had been driven from the possession of his fortress in Thrace; and had acquired a settlement under Pharnabazus, in the little village of Grynium, in Phrygia. Here, undisturbed by the noise and dangers of war and politics, he passed his time in obscurity, in the enjoyments of love and friendship; but the ma-

tice and fears of the tyrant still pursued him to his last retreat.

Lysander informed Pharnabazus that the safety of the form of government which had been recently established at Athens, required the sacrifice of Alcibiades. It was a mode of administration, he said, which it was the interest of Sparta and Persia to maintain. Pharnabazus was inclined to this bloody measure more from private reasons than from the advice of Lysander. He sent therefore a band of armed Phrygians, to surprise and assassinate the Athenian exile. Such, however, was the acknowledged bravery of Alcibiades, that they durst neither attack him in the day time, nor by open force. The obscurity of the night was chosen for committing this cruel and bloody deed. They set fire to his house, which, according to the materials used in the buildings of that country, was composed of light and combustible substances; and thus evinced their cowardice as well as their baseness.

Alcibiades, alarmed by the crackling of the flames, snatched up his sword, and, twisting his mantle round his left arm, rushed through the burning edifice, accompanied by his faithful Arcadian friend, and his affectionate mistress Timandra. The dastardly Phrygians, declining to meet the fury of his assault, covered him with a shower of javelins. Thus fell a man, whose various character can only be represented by the wonderful changes of fortune that happened to him. Though eminently adorned with the advantages of birth, valour, wealth, and eloquence, and possessing uncommon natural and acquired endowments, his want of discretion and probity

probity involved his country and himself in inextricable difficulties.

Though the life of Alcibiades had been extremely pernicious to his country, yet his death at this time might have been considered as a misfortune, had not the Athenian exiles at Thebes possessed a leader, who had all his abilities and excellencies, without his vices and defects. Thrasybulus was a man of very enterprising spirit; he was a passionate lover of liberty; and, while he usually complied with the dictates of justice and humanity, he possessed magnanimity to conceive, abilities to conduct, and perseverance to accomplish, the boldest and most arduous designs. He communicated his intentions to the unfortunate exiles at Thebes and Megara; and proposed that a body of seventy of them should march and seize the important fortress of Phyla, which was situated on the frontiers of Attica and Bœotia. This daring and unexpected enterprise caused alarm and consternation among the tyrants, who speedily marched with some of their best troops to dislodge the new garrison. The natural strength of the place, however, baffled all their attempts; and, when they purposed to invest the fortress, the sudden and unexpected violence of a tempest, which was accompanied with a great fall of snow, compelled them to desist from their undertaking. They retreated precipitately to Athens; leaving behind part of their attendants and baggage, which fell into the hands of the enemy. The fortress of Phyla, strengthened by the continued confluence of Athenian exiles, soon increased its garrison from seventy to seven hundred men.

The tyrants had now just cause of alarm; and dreaded lest the city should be attacked, and the country ravaged by these daring invaders. They sent several troops of cavalry, and the greater part of the hired mercenaries from Lacedæmon, who garrisoned Athens, with orders to encamp in a woody country, about fifteen furlongs from Phyla, that they might watch the motions and repress the incursions of the enemy. Thrasybulus, however, silently marching from Phyla during the night, posted his forces in the intricacies of the forest, and suddenly attacked the Lacedæmonians before they had time to recover from their confusion. They immediately fled; but the wary general, afraid of an ambush, followed them to no great distance. In the pursuit, however, one hundred and twenty of them were slain. Thrasybulus erected a trophy, and conveyed the baggage and arms of the enemy in triumph to Phyla.

The tyrants were so terrified with the news of this defeat, that they judged the city no longer able to protect them. They considered the neighbouring town of Eleusis as more capable of defence, and therefore removed thither. The three thousand men that were entrusted with arms accompanied them, and assisted in the destruction of those Eleusinians whom they suspected of disaffection towards their usurpation. Pretending to muster the inhabitants of that city, they led those unhappy men through a narrow gate to the shore, and having disarmed them put them to death.

In the mean time Phyla continued to receive fresh accessions of strength. With these supplies Thrasybulus was encouraged to attempt surprising

surprising Piræus; the inhabitants of which, being principally tradesmen, merchants, and mariners, bore with indignation and impatience the injuries and cruelties of a council of ten, the subordinate instruments and obsequious imitators of the thirty tyrants. The enemy brought forth all their force to defeat the enterprise; but Thrasybulus, intercepting their march to the place, occupied a rising ground with his troops, which was of signal advantage to him.

The engagement which ensued was neither long nor bloody; but Critias and Hippomachus, the two most violent of the tyrants, were killed. The enemy being greatly superior in number, Thrasybulus judiciously avoided pursuing them; lest, if he descended the hill, they should rally, and renew the battle. But checking the ardour of his troops, he caused the herald Cleocritus to proclaim aloud: "Wherefore, O men of Athens! would you avoid your countrymen? Why do you drive them from the city, and thirst for their blood? Are we not united by religious, civil, and domestic ties? Often have we joined together to fight the enemies of our country and of our liberty. In this unnatural and civil war, more blood has been shed by the impious and abominable tyrants in eight months, than by the Peloponnesians, the public enemies and destroyers of our country and independency, in ten years. Your misfortunes we bewail as equal to our own: nor is there a man left dead, in the field of battle, whose death does not excite our sympathy and increase our affliction." This proclamation was calculated to sow the seeds of disaffection among the troops; and the tyrants immediately led off their forces; while Thrasybulus,

bulus, without stripping the dead, marched to Piræus.

The day following, the thirty took their melancholy seats in council; but betrayed symptoms of fear, and indications of expected ruin. The unfortunate people accused their commanders and themselves. A ferment arose in the city, which was not allayed until the tyrants were deposed from their dignity, and ten magistrates (one elected from each tribe) appointed to succeed them. The surviving tyrants, and those whose guilt had closely united them to the thirty, fled to Eleusis.

The ten, or decemvirs, soon showed the same desire to obey the government of Sparta, and tyrannise over the inhabitants of Athens. After various skirmishes, in which the bravery and conduct of Thrasybulus generally prevailed, the tyrants in Eleusis and at Athens sent to request assistance from Lysander. The Lacedæmonian commander was extremely desirous to support and protect the government he had established: he therefore marched to Piræus at the head of a powerful body of mercenary troops; while his brother Libys, with a considerable squadron, blocked up the harbour.

The exertions and talents of the Spartan commanders would soon have compelled Thrasybulus and his followers to surrender at discretion, had they been allowed to act without controul. But the Spartans themselves were provoked at the haughty behaviour of Lysander, the rapacious avarice of his sycophant dependents; and were now weary of their conduct. The kings, magistrates, and ephori, combined to humble their general. Lest he should have the honour

honour of conquering Athens a second time, Pausanias, the most popular and beloved of all the Spartan kings, raised a considerable body of forces, consisting of Spartans and their allies of Peloponnesus; and, marching through the isthmus of Corinth, fixed his quarters in the neighbourhood of Athens.

The Lacedæmonian armies, encamped at so short a distance from each other, sufficiently showed the want of union between the two leaders, and the separate interests by which they were actuated. Pausanias, from opposition to an envied, odious, and successful rival, was inclined to espouse the cause, and undertake the protection, of Thrasybulus and his adherents; and an incident that soon after followed confirmed this inclination, and determined him to endeavour to anticipate and thwart the measures of Lysander with respect to the democratical faction. Diognotus, a respectable Athenian, brought the children of Niceratus and Eucrates; the former the son, the latter the brother of Nicias, with whom the Spartan king was connected by the hereditary ties of hospitality and friendship. He placed the helpless infants on the knees of Pausanias; and begged him, by the regard he had for the memory of their great and much respected ancestor, to have compassion on their innocence and weakness, and defend them against a base and worthless faction, desirous of destroying whatever was virtuous and valuable.

Before, however, his favourable intentions were known by the enemy, several bloody skirmishes took place. But no sooner was Thrasybulus apprised of the disposition of Pausanias than he made known in Athens this unexpected revolution;

revolution; and a numerous party, throwing off the yoke of the tyrants, desired a reconciliation with their countrymen in Piræus. The Spartan king received them kindly, and advised them to send deputies to Sparta, to propose overtures of accommodation to the ephori and the senate. Lysander and the tyrants endeavoured to oppose this negociation, but in vain. The Spartans sent fifteen commissioners, who, in conjunction with Pausanias, were empowered to treat with Athens. With the approbation of these ministers, the tyrants were divested of their authority, the foreign garrisons withdrawn, and the popular form of government was once more restored to Athens. B. C. 403.

The effect of the generous enthusiasm of the Athenians might have encouraged perhaps even the enfeebled party of the tyrants to return from Eleusis. They were, however, too sensible of the guilt and cruelty of their conduct, to hope for forgiveness or impunity. Having fortified that city in the best manner they could, they began to prepare arms and to collect mercenaries, to try again the fate of war. But the new republic easily defeated their vain attempts; and the unequal hostility, the effect of despair and fury, soon ceased. The most obnoxious and cruel leaders sealed with their blood the safety of their adherents, who submitted to the clemency of Thrasybulus. He had the magnanimity to undertake their cause with the people; and solicited and obtained a decree, that these men should be restored to the city, reinstated in their fortunes and privileges, and the memory of their past offences be buried in oblivion. The assembly ratified this general act of amnesty by oath;

oath; but, when the tyrants were no more, they who had been the abettors of their unjust and nefarious proceedings were accused, convicted, and punished, for the perpetration of crimes, the promise of a general indemnity for which had been solemnly sanctioned. So true it is that the Athenians possessed wisdom to discern, but wanted constancy to practise, the lessons of sound policy, or even the dictates of strict justice.

It had been well for humanity, and to the honour of Athens, if the abettors of that aristocratical faction had been the only persons who experienced the unjust rigour of its tribunals. But, soon after the re-establishment of the popular form of government, a very memorable transaction happened; the trial and condemnation of Socrates, a man guiltless of any vice, and against whom no blame could be imputed, except that the illustrious merit of the philosopher disgraced the crimes and follies of his contemporaries. His independence of spirit, and visible superiority of mind and genius over the rest of his countrymen, created him many enemies; but, as his character was irreproachable, and his doctrines pure and void of all obscurity, the voice of malevolence was silent. Yet Aristophanes soon undertook, at the instigation of Melitus, in his comedy of *The Clouds*, to ridicule the venerable character of Socrates on the stage; and, when once the door was opened to calumny and defamation, the fickle and licentious populace paid no reverence to the philosopher, whom they had before regarded as a being of a superior order. When this had succeeded, Melitus stood forth to criminate him, together with B. C. 400.

Anitus

Anitus and Lycon; and the philosopher was summoned before the tribunal of the five hundred. He was accused of making innovations in the religion of the Greeks, and of ridiculing the many gods which the Athenians worshipped: yet, false as this might appear, the accusers relied for the success of their cause upon the perjury of the witnesses and the envy of the judges, whose ignorance would readily yield to misrepresentation, and be influenced and guided by eloquence and artifice. In this their expectations were not frustrated; and, while the judges expected submission from Socrates, and that meanness of behaviour and servility of defence which distinguished criminals, the philosopher perhaps accelerated his own fall by the firmness of his mind and his uncomplying integrity. Lysias, one of the most celebrated orators of the age, composed an oration in a laboured and pathetic strain, which he offered to his friend to be presented as his defence in the presence of his judges; but Socrates refused it, observing that a philosopher ought to be conspicuous for magnanimity and firmness of soul. In his apology he spoke with great animation, and confessed that, while others boasted that they were acquainted with every thing, he himself knew nothing. The whole discourse was full of simplicity and noble grandeur, and the energetic language of offended innocence. He modestly said that what he possessed was applied for the service of the Athenians: it was his wish to make his fellow citizens happy; and it was a duty which he performed by the special command of the gods, "whose authority," said he emphatically to the judges, "I regard more than yours." Such language from

from a man who was accused of a capital crime, astonished and irritated the judges. Socrates was condemned, but only by a majority of three voices; and when he was demanded, according to the rule of the Athenian laws, to pass sentence on himself, by mentioning what death he preferred, he replied, "For my attempts to teach the Athenian youth justice and moderation, and to render the rest of my countrymen more happy, let me be maintained at the public expence during the remaining years of my life, in the Prytanæum*; an honour, O Athenians! which I deserve more than the victors of the Olympic games: they make their countrymen more happy in appearance, but I have made you so in reality." This exasperated the judges in the highest degree; and he was condemned to drink hemlock. Upon this he addressed the court, and more particularly the judges who had decided in his favour, in a pathetic speech. He told them, that to die was a pleasure; since he was going to hold converse with the greatest heroes of antiquity: he recommended to their care his defenceless children; and, as he returned to the prison, he exclaimed, "I go to die, you to live; which is best, the Deity alone can know!" The solemn celebration of some religious festivals prevented his execution for thirty days; and during that time he was confined in the prison and loaded with irons. His friends, and particularly his disciples, were his constant attendants; and he discoursed with them upon differ-

* The Prytanæum was a council hall of the Athenians, in which judicatures were held, sacrifices offered, and the members provided with every necessary at the expence of the public.

ent

ent subjects with all his usual serenity and cheerfulness. He reproved them for their sorrow; and when one of them was uncommonly grieved because he was to suffer, though innocent, the philosopher replied: "Would you then have me die guilty?" With this composure did he spend his last days; he continued to be a preceptor till the moment of his death, and instructed his pupils on questions of the greatest importance; he told them his opinions in support of the immortality of the soul, and reprobated severely the prevalent custom of suicide. He disregarded the intercession of his friends; and, when it was in his power to make his escape out of prison, he refused, and asked with his usual pleasantry, "Where he could escape death!"

When the hour to drink the poison was come, the executioner presented him the cup with tears in his eyes; Socrates received it with composure, and having drunk it with an unaltered countenance, in a few minutes after expired. Such was the end of a man whom the uninfluenced answer of the oracle of Delphi had pronounced the wisest of mankind. Socrates died about four hundred years before the Christian æra, in the seventieth year of his age. He was no sooner dead than the Athenians repented of their cruelty; his accusers were universally despised and shunned; one suffered death, some were banished, and others with their own hands put an end to lives which their abhorred persecution of the best of Athenians had rendered insupportable.

The illustrious sage had a statue of brass erected to him, by his countrymen, of the workmanship of Lysippus; which was placed in the most conspicuous part of the city. Thus did his

fame

fame, like the hardy oak, derive vigour from length of years, and increase from age to age; until the superstitious Athenians worshipped him as a god, whom their injustice and cruelty had condemned as a criminal.

Hitherto there has been occasion to notice more peculiarly the successes and defeats of the Athenian Republic; for, while the Athenians acted the most conspicuous part in the affairs of the nation, it was necessary to give that attention to them which the importance of their concerns naturally demanded. But we must now turn successively to those states which, after the downfal of the Athenian greatness, became the principal communities of Greece.

While the fortune of the Peloponnesian war was doubtful, the peaceful inhabitants of Elis frequently testified their inclination to preserve a strict and inoffensive neutrality. But the continual solicitations of Sparta, and the unprovoked violence of Athens, determined them to declare for the former city. They, however, acted with great indifference and lukewarmness in the cause of their Spartan allies. During the time of action, their efforts were languid and ineffectual; and when, according to custom, the annual return of the Olympic games suspended for a time all hostilities between the contending states, they showed little regard or respect for their powerful confederates, whose martial and ambitious spirit seemed incompatible with the enjoyment of their own loved tranquillity.

This omission of duty was soon followed by the actual desertion of the Eleans from the alliance of Sparta. They defended themselves against the usurpations of that state; and endea-

voured to prevent its members from consulting the Delphic oracle, and from partaking of the games and sacrifices performed at Olympia. As long as the Peloponesian war was carried on, these injuries were submitted to with impunity; but no sooner was that war terminated than the Spartans felt with sensibility, and were enabled to chastise with severity every insult that had been offered them, during the less prosperous state of their affairs.

Agis, the most warlike of the Spartan princes, now levied a powerful army, to inflict a late but terrible vengeance on the Eleans. It was his design to surprise them before they could raise forces to make any effectual resistance. He therefore led the troops through the countries of Argolis and Achaia; and, entering the territory of Elis by the road of Larissa, intended to march by the shortest way to the devoted capital. He had scarcely, however, passed the river Larissus, which gives name to the town and divides the provinces of Elis and Achaia, when some severe and repeated shocks of an earthquake were experienced. The superstitious invaders considered this as an admonition from the Gods, that the state they were about to attack was under the protection of Heaven, and that therefore they ought to abstain from ravaging a country so sacredly defended. Into such a menace, at least, was this terrible phenomenon interpreted by the Lacedæmonian king, that he immediately recrossed the river with his troops; and returning home, disbanded his army.

By this event, however, the enmity of the Spartans was only restrained, not extinguished. They offered up prayers and sacrifices to the Gods, beseech-

beseeching them to sanctify and favour the invasion of the Elean territory. The ephori then commanded Agis to levy more forces, and again to march into the country of Elis. No phenomenon now occurred to check their progress. During two successive summers and autumns, the territory was desolated: they burned or otherwise destroyed all the villages; and the inhabitants were made captives: all the ornaments of their sacred edifices were destroyed; and the city of Jupiter was despoiled of many of the porticoes, gymnasia, and temples, that adorned it.

But, though the Spartans had first planned the invasion, they did not either singly incur the guilt, or exclusively obtain the profits, that attended it. The Arcadians and other Peloponnesians, allured by the hope of plunder, joined the Spartan forces: and the Elean territory afforded them a rich and luxurious harvest of spoil; for that country had been long protected by religion against the ravages of war. When the Spartans had thus plundered and laid waste the country of Elis, they granted peace to the inhabitants, on condition that they would surrender their fleet, acknowledge the independence of the inferior towns and villages that were scattered along the banks of the Pereus and the Alpheus, and model their internal government according to the plan prescribed by the conquerors. Thus was Sparta become the arbitrator of Greece.

But though the conquest of Elis engaged, it did not exclusively engross, the attention of the Spartans, nor divert them from pursuing other projects of revenge. The Messenians were not

the accidental and temporary neighbours of Sparta, but they had been the natural and inveterate foes of that community; nor could they expect but to feel the unhappy consequences of the triumph of Lacedæmon.

After the destruction of Messene and the persecution of its inhabitants, Naupactus, situated on the northern shore of the Corinthian gulf, afforded a safe and secure retreat to a feeble remnant of that community. They flourished here under the protection of Athens; and, in gratitude to their benefactors, were the most active, zealous, and (according to the utmost of their power) the most useful, of any of the allies of Athens, during the whole of the Peloponnesian war. But their assistance, and that of many others, proved ineffectual; and the time was now come when Sparta prepared to inflict a severe punishment upon them, for their recent as well as well as ancient injuries. Naupactus, and Cephalenia (where a considerable colony of the Messenians had been planted) were invaded;—the greater part of the inhabitants escaped to Si-

B. C. 401. cily; upward of three thousand sailed to Cyrenaica. These were the only countries inhabited by the Hellenic race, that were now beyond the reach of the Lacedæmonian power.

While the operations of war, and the various revolutions that took place in the governments of Greece, detached the Grecian colonies in Italy, Sicily, and Cyrenaica, from the general interests and politics of the mother country, a series of events, not less curious than important, connected in the closest manner the history of Greece with the annals of the Persian empire.

Darius

Darius Nothus terminated his active and prosperous reign the same memorable year that Athens became subject to Sparta, and the Peloponnesian war was brought to a conclusion.—His wife Parysatis, an artful and ambitious woman, employed all her influence over an old and uxorious husband, to obtain the kingdom for Cyrus, her younger son and peculiar favourite; but the dying monarch persisted in appointing Artaxerxes his successor to the throne.

The rivalship of the two brothers, who were both at court during the last illness of Darius, unhappily degenerated into enmity. The birth of Artaxerxes had happened before the accession of his father to the throne; while, on the contrary, Cyrus was born the son of a king. This circumstance greatly increased the indignation of the younger brother. The same distinction had occasioned Darius Hystaspes to prefer Xerxes, the younger of his sons, to his elder brother Artabazanes. The precedent, thus established by such an illustrious monarch, might have been thought sufficient to reinforce the partial arguments of Parysatis; and the merit and abilities that Cyrus discovered at a very early age, and which would have enabled him to fill the most difficult and to adorn the most exalted station, might have contributed to confirm his title to the throne.

When he was only seventeen, the provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, had been deputed to the care and jurisdiction of this young prince. The same mandate of Darius, however, that destroyed his hopes of obtaining the throne of Persia, appointed him hereditary and perpetual governor of the above-mentioned districts.

On

On the death of Darius, Cyrus, with the three hundred heavy-armed Greeks under the command of Xenias, an Arcadian, who had accompanied him to Suza, prepared to leave the Persian court, and to return to the government of his provinces; but when he was about to commence his journey his departure was retarded by a base and nefarious intention. Tissaphernes, to whose jurisdiction Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, had been committed previous to the time in which Cyrus became governor of those valuable districts, was now at the Persian court; and, hoping to share the spoils of the young prince, accused him of treason. Artaxerxes gave orders that Cyrus should be apprehended; but the powerful protection of his mother, who, though she loved only one, was beloved, or at least feared, by both her sons, defended his life, vindicated his honour, and restored him in safety to his dominions in Asia Minor. Cyrus, whose heroic fortitude was known, was not much affected with the danger that had threatened his person; but the insult offered him by his brother sunk deep into his heart. From the moment he recovered his liberty, he determined to revenge the injury done him; and by force of arms to obtain possession of the Persian throne, or to perish in the attempt.

The young prince, being of a magnanimous disposition, naturally preferred the road of danger and glory for asserting and vindicating his independence; nor did he think it sufficient to punish the injustice of Artaxerxes towards him. He made such preparations as might enable him to dethrone his brother, and to usurp the dominion of Persia; defended as it was by a million of

of armed men, and protected not only by the power of superstition, but by the splendour of ancient renown. This design of Cyrus, extravagant and romantic as it appeared at first view, seemed nevertheless, when fully considered, capable of being executed. He possessed great and extraordinary resources in the fertility and invention of his own mind; his barbarian subjects were united to him in the most friendly and affectionate attachment to his person; and, above all, the fidelity and valour of his Lacedæmonian allies gave him the most powerful means of executing his purpose.

When we consider the life and the actions of Cyrus, either as they are delivered to us by the concurring testimony of his contemporaries, or as we observe them in the lustre which they reflect, he seems to have been born for the honour of human nature, and particularly for that of Asia. He had been educated, we are told, from the age of seven years, "to shoot with the bow, to manage the horse, and to speak truth." This was agreeable to the institutions of the great founder of the Persian monarchy; and seemed well adapted, in an age of simplicity, to form the princes and nobles of the state. Cyrus surpassed his companions in all exterior accomplishments; but, while his manly beauty, his bodily activity, and his skill and courage in managing the steed, in hunting, and in every military exercise, were the admiration of the people, the young prince appears to have estimated such superficial advantages according to their real worth alone. Integrity of heart was considered by him as the only solid basis of a fair character: honesty was impressed on every action; his promise

mise was sacred, and his friendship sincere and inviolable. During the thoughtless and giddy season of youth, the admonitions of age and experience were not neglected; opulence, birth, and rank, had for him no allurements; age and virtue were the only objects of his respect; and his conduct, equally deserving and singular, was justly and universally admired and applauded.

By the most important services, he had deserved the gratitude and the esteem of the Lacedæmonian republic; which, merely by his assistance, had been raised to the sovereignty of Greece, and to the command of the sea. In return for the favours received from the Persian prince, the Spartans readily granted his request; and sent into Asia a body of eight hundred heavy-armed men, under the command of the intrepid and warlike Cheirisophus. Samius also, the Spartan admiral, who had succeeded Lysander in the command of the fleet on the Ionian coast, received orders from his government faithfully to co-operate with Cyrus, and to employ his powerful armament in whatever service the Persian prince should think proper

This behaviour of the Spartans might alone have been well approved by Cyrus, and considered as a grateful return for the favours they had received; especially as by their alliance his possessions on the side of Europe were perfectly secured, and he was enabled, without fear of danger, to withdraw the garrisons from the western parts of his dominion, and thus to augment the strength of his army. But the zeal and attachment of the Spartans carried them still farther: he was permitted to raise forces in any part

part of their dominions: and the generous munificence of Cyrus had obtained numerous partisans, properly qualified to collect and to command these valuable levies. Of the Grecians devoted to the interest and glory of the Persian prince were Clearchus the Spartan, Menon the Thessalian, Proxenus the Bœotian, Agias the Arcadian, and Socrates the Achæan. These generals soon raised from their respective republics more than ten thousand heavy-armed men, and nearly three thousand archers and targetteers.

The haughty indolence of the Persians was lulled into security, and deceived by the silence and celerity with which Cyrus made his preparations. Alcibiades, however, who then resided at Grynium in Phrygia under the protection of Pharnabazus, was apprized of the designs of Cyrus. Moved by resentment to Sparta, or ambitious of obtaining the favour of Artaxerxes, he requested the Satrap to allow him an escort, that he might undertake a journey to Suza, and acquaint the Persian monarch with the vast preparations and hostile intentions of his brother. But Pharnabazus, though he possessed not the merit, desired the reward of the discovery. Instead, therefore, of complying with the request of the unfortunate Alcibiades, he gratified the selfishness and cruelty of the Lacedæmonian government, as we before had occasion to observe, by the destruction of the Athenian exile.

Nothing, however, could rouse the Persian monarch from the profound security of his repose. Cyrus completed his levies without molestation, and almost without suspicion; and he

B. C. 400. he prepared to march from the Ionian coast into Upper Asia, with an army of one hundred thousand barbarians, and more than thirteen thousand Greeks. His forces having assembled at Sardis, the Persian prince was carried, by the activity of his resentment or ambition, with the utmost celerity towards Upper Asia. In a journey of twelve hundred miles, his forces encountered fewer difficulties than might have been expected. They travelled through the central provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia; they traversed the mountains of Cilicia; and passed, without meeting resistance, through Syria: they then crossed the Euphrates, at Thapsacus; and, after penetrating the desert, entered the territory of Babylon.

Advancing through the desert into the plains of Babylon, he met, near Cynaxa, the numerous and formidable army of Artaxerxes. Clearchus posted the Greeks near the river Euphrates, lest they should be surrounded by the enemy. Cyrus desired him to advance opposite to the king's guard; because, if they should be broken, the enemy would immediately give way on all sides. The Spartan general replied that he considered it necessary to remain in his present situation, and that he would be careful to do every thing in his power to ensure success.

This disobedience of Clearchus, and the impetuosity of Cyrus, however, destroyed the fortune of the day, in which the fate of Persia and the renown of Greece were alike involved.—Clearchus, by skilful evolutions, eluded the armed chariots and cavalry of the enemy; and the martial appearance and acclamations of the Greeks were

were alone sufficient to rout the opposing undisciplined crowd, who could not withstand or endure the sight of their regular army and burnished arms. The martial sounds of their harmonious pæans, intermixed with the clanging of their spears against their brazen bucklers, astonished and terrified the enemy. Artaxerxes, seeing that the Greeks were every where victorious, and that none of his soldiers could oppose them in front, gave orders to his men to wheel about, and advancing with celerity take the enemy in the rear. Had this design been carried into execution, the Greeks, in all probability, having prevailed in the first onset, would also have faced about, and, animated by the joy of victory and their native ardour, have returned to charge those that attacked them in the rear, and gained an easy conquest.

But Cyrus, impatient of victory, destroyed this favourable prospect. Observing the motions of his brother, he eagerly rode to meet him, accompanied only by six hundred horse. He attacked the enemy with such violence and impetuosity, that the king's advanced guards were immediately thrown into confusion, and Artagerses, their commander, was slain by the hand of Cyrus. Had he retreated even now, he might still perhaps have saved his life, and even obtained the kingdom. But perceiving Artaxerxes in the midst of the ranks, he rushed forward with a blind instinctive fury, and cried out, "I see the man." He penetrated through the attendants of his brother, and threw his javelin at the breast of the king. His zeal and eagerness to destroy Artaxerxes, proved the ruin of himself: he received a severe wound in the face

that we have nothing left, but our arms and our valour. While we possess the one, we can avail ourselves of the other; but, should we be induced to deliver up our arms, we shall be obliged to surrender our persons. Think not, therefore, that we will throw away the only advantages we enjoy. On the contrary, be assured that, relying on our weapons and our valour, we will dispute with you the advantages which you possess." These sentiments of Xenophon were enforced by Clearchus and the rest of the army; and Philinus, unable to discover the immediate designs of the Greeks, returned with his colleagues to the Persian camp.

In the mean time, Ariæus sent deputies to inform the Greeks that there were many Persians of greater consideration than himself who would not permit him to be their king. He desired they would join him with all expedition; and observed that, if they delayed, he would return with all haste to Ionia. The army, therefore, immediately marched, in order of battle, to the encampment of Ariæus. An alliance was entered into between the Persian and Grecian commanders, by which they bound themselves to perform to each other the duties of faithful and affectionate confederates. This treaty being ratified by a solemn sacrifice, they deliberated on the plan of their intended journey; and it was at length determined that, instead of traversing the desolated country through which they had passed, their course should be directed northward; where they might hope to avoid the desert, acquire provision in plenty, and cross the great rivers which diminish near their source, with less difficulty and danger. It was also resolved

solved to perform their first marches with as much expedition as possible, that they might get out of the reach of the king's troops.

It is evident that the plan proposed had the appearance of a flight; but fortune directed them more gloriously. The Grecian firmness and courage had a powersul effect on the counsels of Artaxerxes, who sent heralds the following to treat with them about a truce. Tissaphernes, in the name of the king, concluded that agreement with the Greeks, which proved so calamitous but honourable to them in its consequences. The satrap engaged, on the part of his master, to furnish them with provision, to procure them friendly treatment in the countries through which they passed, and to conduct them faithfully into Greece. On the other hand, the Greeks covenanted that they would abstain from ravaging the territories of Artaxerxes, and that they would pay for any supplies that were granted them.

Tissaphernes, however, though he had promised to hasten his return from the king, delayed twenty days. During this time, the Persians availed themselves of the opportunity of practising with Ariæus. That barbarian, by the allurements of rewards, or the dread of punishment, but still more, perhaps, by the warm solicitations of his relations and friends, was totally detached from the interest of his Grecian allies. Previous to the arrival of Tissaphernes, the Greeks greatly suspected the designs of Ariæus; but no sooner did the satrap return than the two Persian armies encamped together. For some time, however, no open hostility was committed; and the Greeks, according to treaty, were

furnished with a market. But Tisaphernes endeavoured to encrease the difficulties of their journey; and led them, by many windings and turnings, through the canals and marshes between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

Having arrived on the banks of the river Zabates, which flows eastward from the mountains of Media, the Grecian generals, and particularly Clearchus, who had long seen and lamented the unfortunate jealousies that had arisen between the Greeks and Persians, proposed a conference of the commanders, that they might explain and remove the obstacles of agreement. This measure was agreeable to all, and was immediately acceded to. Five generals and twenty captains of the Greeks, accordingly repaired to the camp of Tissaphernes; only two hundred soldiers followed them, under pretence of going to market. The Grecian generals, Clearchus, Menon, Agias, Proxenus, and Socrates, were conducted into the apartment of the satrap. This separation occasioned distrust; which was heightened by observing that the barbarians were provided with arms. Soon after, upon a signal being given, those without the camp were cut to pieces, and the generals apprehended.

When the Greeks, in their encampment, had received intelligence of the treacherous conduct of the Persians, they ran to their arms, expecting an immediate assault. The cowardly barbarians, however, instead of attempting to accomplish their designs by open and honourable war, continued to employ artifice and perfidy.

They sent Ariæus, Arteazus, and Mithridates, persons of great credit with Cyrus, to the Grecian

cian camp; and with them three hundred persons clad in complete armour. When they drew near to the Greeks, a herald proclaimed that, if any of their generals or captains were present, they should advance, and be made acquainted with the pleasure of Artaxerxes. Cherisophus the Spartan, who, next to Clearchus, had hitherto commanded the army, was absent with a party of foreigners. But Cleanor the Orchomenian, and Sophonetus the Stymphalian, the only remaining generals, cautiously proceeded from the camp; accompanied by Xenophon the Athenian, a volunteer in the army, who was desirous of hearing tidings of his friend Proxenus.

When they arrived within hearing of the barbarians, Ariæus said, "Clearchus, O Grecians, having been found guilty of perfidy and treason, has been punished with death. Menon and Proxenus, who discovered his designs, are honoured and rewarded. The king demands your arms; which are now his property, since they belonged to Cyrus, who was his vassal." To this Cleanor replied, in the name of the rest; and reproached him with perfidy, for having betrayed the friends and benefactors of Cyrus his master, and for co-operating with the enemy of that prince, the treacherous and impious Tissaphernes. Ariæus attempted to defend himself from this accusation, by alleging the criminal conduct of Clearchus: upon which Xenophon observed, "If Clearchus was guilty of perjury, he has suffered justly. But where are Proxenus and Menon, who are your benefactors and our commanders? Since they are friends to both parties, let them be sent, to advise us what is best

to

to be done," To this request, reasonable and just as it appeared to be, the barbarians could make no answer; and, having conferred a while together, they departed to their camp. Their mean duplicity in this interview sufficiently indicated the unhappy fate of the Grecian commanders, who were kept for some time in close confinement, and afterwards sent to Artaxerxes, by whom they were put to death.

CHAP. XII.

The Affairs of Greece, from the Commencement of the memorable Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks under Xenophon, to the Peace of Antalcidas.

THE terror and alarm which had hitherto prevailed in the Grecian camp were now converted into consternation and despair. The afflictions of the Greeks seemed completed by the dreadful catastrophe that had befallen their unfortunate commanders. They were twelve hundred miles distant from their native land; without friends, and without allies; hemmed in by rivers and mountains, which now appeared as so many insurmountable barriers; and threatened by famine and the resentment of a treacherous and perfidious enemy. They reflected that it was dangerous to depart, and still more dangerous to remain. Provision could only be procured by the point of the sword. Every country would

would be hostile to them; and when they had conquered one enemy another would be ready to receive them. They had no cavalry to pursue the barbarians in their flight, or to elude their pursuit: victory itself would be almost fruitless; but defeat would be certain ruin.

These considerations, together with the fancied inspiration of a dream, impelled Xenophon to undertake, amidst the general dejection and dismay, the care of his own and the public safety. An assembly of the captains being convened, he represented to them faithfully the present situation of affairs; but exhorted them, at the same time, not to suffer themselves to fall into despair. All the arguments that religion, philosophy, and experience could suggest, were urged by him; to encourage them to expect success from their own bravery and the favour of Heaven, and to disdain any offers of accommodation from men whose perfidious friendship had been more hurtful than their open enmity.

They all applauded the sentiments of the Athenian; and Cherisophus, the Spartan general, exhorted them without loss of time to elect commanders in the room of those whom they had lost. Timasion, Xanthicles, Cleanor, Philysias, succeeded the late generals; and Xenophon supplied the place of Proxenus. They determined to disencumber themselves of all unnecessary baggage, which might impede their march, and to explore the sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Their army they intended to form in a hollow square; and thus to oppose the valour of their battalions, on every side, to the enemy.

The Greeks consumed the greater part of the day

day in preparations for their departure; and in the afternoon, having crossed the Zabatus, the troops pursued their journey, in the disposition already mentioned. They had not, however, proceeded far, when the Persian archers and slingers began to harrass the rear of the army. To repel these light skirmishers was no very easy matter; but to attack them in the assault, without suffering considerable loss, was impossible. They could not be overtaken by the heavy-armed soldiers, nor even by the targeteers, in a little time; and the enemy could not be pursued, without part of the army being cut off. Xenophon, however, made an attempt; but many of his men were wounded, and he brought his troops back to the camp dispirited and disgraced.

The Greeks now found the want of cavalry and of light-armed soldiers. They therefore equipped fifty of their baggage horses; and two hundred Rhodians were drawn from the ranks, who furnished themselves with slings and leaden balls, which they threw twice as far as the stones employed by the barbarians. Of these men, fifty were mounted, and provided with buff coats and corslets; and Lycius, an Athenian, was appointed to command them. The utility of these preparations was soon visible, when the enemy renewed the assault with a thousand horse and four thousand slingers. The Persian detachment had no sooner approached within the reach of darts, than the horsemen of Lycius fell furiously on them, and they fled in scattered disorder. The Greeks pursuing, took many prisoners; and in order to create the greater horror in the minds of these cowardly and perfidious enemies, the bodies of the slain were terribly mangled.

After

After these advantages, they continued their march along the banks of the Tigris and the western boundaries of Media, where they met with many rich and populous villages that supplied them with plenty of provision; and soon approached the mountains of the Carduchians, where the cavalry of the enemy could no longer annoy them. The Tigris, on their left, was so deep and rapid that the passage appeared absolutely insurmountable; and, nevertheless, it was thought necessary to pass the river. Having received intelligence, however, that the road through the country of the Carduchians would conduct them to the spacious and plentiful provinces of Armenia, they marched thither; regardless of the report that a hundred thousand Persians had been defeated, and cut to pieces by those fierce barbarians. When they approached, the Carduchians betook themselves to their fastnesses, and left the houses and villages in the plain to the mercy of the invaders. The troops did no injury; but they could not procure, by their inoffensive behaviour and invitations of peace, the friendship of those men, who were the common enemies of the Greeks, the Persians, and the whole human race. Every opportunity was taken to impede the march of the army. These barbarians were not prepared for a close engagement; but they excelled all other nations in the use and strength of their bows, which were three cubits long, and which they bent by pressing the lower part with the foot. The arrows were nearly as long as the bows; and their points were so sharp, that they would pierce the firmest shields and corslets. The Greeks had full occasion to employ their superior

rior knowledge in tactics, and their valour, in repelling or eluding the attacks of these dangerous enemies; who did them more hurt in seven days than the Persians did in as many weeks.

At length, however, they arrived at the river Cantrites, which forms the boundary of Armenia; and, during the month of January, they traversed the fruitful plains of that country. Teribazus, the Persian governor of the province, entered into a treaty with the generals, to supply them with provision, on their abstaining from hostilities; but, he having treacherously broken the treaty, the Greeks had immediate recourse to arms, pursued the perfidious governor, and plundered his camp. The day following a more dangerous occurrence befel them. Being obliged to encamp in the open air, without fire and victuals, the snow fell in such quantities during the night, that the men and their arms were completely covered. Some lost their sight by the glare of the snow; and others were so benumbed with the piercing coldness of the north wind, that they were deprived of the use of their hands and feet. Xenophon could scarcely keep the men in motion; who, lying down on the ground, protested they would go no farther, but die there. They endeavoured to defend their eyes from the effect of the snow, by wearing something of a dark colour before them; while their feet were preserved by continual motion during the day, and in the night by being stripped bare.

They next approached the country of the Taochians; who, being alarmed with the report of an unknown enemy, abandoned the villages in the plain, and, with their wives, children, and

and cattle, betook themselves to the mountains. Their provision also they carried with them; that the Greeks found themselves under the necessity of attacking those fastnesses. The barbarians endeavoured to defend themselves, by rolling large stones down the precipices on the invaders; but, when these missile weapons were exhausted, the Greeks made themselves masters of the heights, and the women threw first their children down the rocks, and then themselves. This frantic act of despair was followed by the men; and the Greeks took few prisoners, but obtained a considerable number of sheep, oxen, and asses.

The army then proceeded, with great celerity, through the bleak and dreary country of the Chalybeans. The Chalybeans were the fiercest nation in all those parts: they had linen corslets, greaves, and helmets, for their defence: a short falchion was hung at their girdle; and they made use of pikes fifteen cubits in length, with which they attacked an enemy. At the approach of the Greeks, they were so far from betraying any symptom of fear or of flight that they sung and danced. They boldly defended their villages and property; and the Greeks could obtain no supply from this warlike but inhospitable people.

They now passed the river Harpasus, which divides the territories of the Chalybeans and Scythians; and met with no opposition during their journey through the country of this latter people. When they had arrived on the top of mount Thoches, a place held in particular devotion by the inhabitants, the vanguard alarmed the rest of their army with their acclama-

tions. Xenophon, who commanded the rear, hearing the noise, concluded that the army was attacked by an enemy; and therefore advanced with all expedition to the assistance of their comrades. But, having arrived nearer, they were seized with the most pleasing sensations, when their ears were saluted from every quarter with the cry of "The sea! the sea!" They were filled with transports of tumultuary joy, at the sight of an object which they had so long wished in vain: it recalled to their minds more distinctly and forcibly the recollection of their parents, their friends, their relations, their country, and every thing dear to them. The soldiers, with tears in their eyes, embraced each other, and then their commanders; the sympathetic affection was communicated to the whole army, and became so great that a monument of stones was reared on the occasion. This mount was covered with the arms of barbarians, which was intended as a trophy of their memorable march through so many hostile and populous nations.

The distant prospect of the Euxine sea, which they had now discovered, occasioned the Greeks to forget that they were nearly sixty miles from it; and that the territory which intervened consisted of the trackless forests of the Macronians, and the abrupt and intricate windings of the Colchian mountains. By means, however, of a person among the Grecian targeteers, who understood the language of the barbarians, and had been carried when a youth to Athens, where he had served as a slave, they were enabled to hold friendly intercourse with the Macronians; who supplied them with provision, and conducted

ducted them, in three days, to the western frontier of Colchos.

The Colchians, being at enmity with the colonies of the Greeks that flourished on the shores of the Euxine sea, occupied the heights, and prepared to dispute their passage. If the Greeks should advance against them in the form of a phalanx*, Xenophon was sensible that the inequalities of the ground would break the ranks of the Greeks; and the centre becoming disordered, the enemy, by means of their superior numbers, would outreach either wing of the army. It was, therefore, at first agreed to extend the phalanx in front; and there being very few men left in file, the front of the Greeks would nearly equal that of the Colchians: but it was afterward found necessary to divide the heavy-armed men into companies of a hundred each, and that every division should compose a separate column. In this form, attacking the enemy, they completely routed them; and now found themselves within two days march of the Euxine sea, and no enemy able to oppose their passage thither.

* The phalanx was a company, and frequently the whole body of an army, arranged in such order, that their strength was almost incredible, and they could endure any shock, however violent. Polybius describes the phalanx as a square battalion of pikemen, consisting of sixteen in flank and 500 in front. The soldiers stood so close together that the pikes of the fifth rank extended three feet beyond the front of the battalion. Those who were too far distant from the front, to render any service with their pikes, couched them on the shoulders of them that stood before them; and the pikes being locked together in file, they pressed forward to the support of the front.

Amidst the formidable hostility of numerous nations that inhabited the banks of the Euxine, several Grecian cities arose at different intervals, which enlivened the gloom of barbarism, and displayed the superiority and glory of arts and arms. None, however, was more ancient or more renowned than Sinope; situated on a narrow isthmus, annexing a fertile peninsula to the province of Paphlagonia. This city had sent out many colonies to different parts of the east and west; in one of which, named Trapezus, or Trebisond, the Greeks met a friendly reception, after they had spent more than a year in almost continual travelling and warfare.

After staying here for some time, and celebrating with much pomp and festivity the gymnastic games and exercises peculiar to the Grecian nation, Cherisophus was dispatched to the Hellespont, to procure ships from Anaxibius, the Spartan admiral in that sea. Several weeks elapsed, in which they heard nothing of Cherisophus, or of any assistance from the Spartan admiral. They, however, collected such a number of vessels as might serve to transport to Cerasus the aged, the infirm, the women, and baggage; while the strength of the army passed by land.

Having remained here for some time, to dispose of the booty they had acquired, to procure necessaries, and to review their army, which was found to consist of eight thousand six hundred men (the rest having perished by fatigue, war, cold, and sickness), they pursued their journey through the country of the Mosynæcians. They next proceeded through the districts of the Chalybians;

Chalybians; and arrived in the country of the Tyberenians, who treated the Greeks with much friendship and respect, and conducted them with much kindness and civility to the city of Cotyora, a colony of the Sinopians.

It might have been expected that the Greeks, having arrived among their friends and relations, would have been disposed to enjoy in peace and security the fruits of their past labours and dangers; and, if they were not inclined to expose themselves to the hostilities of the inhabitants of Paphlagonia and Bithynia, they might have waited until ships had arrived from Sinope and Heraclea, or from the Spartan admiral in the Hellespont. But it is a more difficult matter to conquer the passions than to overcome an external enemy. The nearer they approached their native country, in the more real danger did their apparent security involve them. They had baffled, during the course of a long and laborious journey, the open attacks and insidious conduct of the hostile barbarians, whose country they had traversed; but the air of a Grecian colony dissolved the discipline and union which the fear of the enemy had hitherto preserved. While in the east, the Greeks had acted with unanimity and friendship; they now began to feel the fatal effects of their provincial distinctions. Separate interests and opposite designs influenced the army: the wealthy were desirous of returning to their native country; while those who had accumulated no riches proposed to plunder equally friends and foes, Greeks and barbarians. The generals of the army held in contempt the troops that served under

under them; whilst the soldiers clamoured against and insulted their commanders.

Xenophon, whose designs and intentions have been fully justified by himself, was ambitious of forming a settlement of Grecians on the coast of the Euxine; which might soon render itself superior to all the other colonies in that neighbourhood, or perhaps to any in Asia. On the southern shores of the Euxine, there were many large and majestic forest trees, well adapted for the building of ships. There were also convenient harbours for vessels; and the neighbouring territory abounded with flax, iron, and every other commodity necessary for raising and supporting a naval power. But this noble design, which might have been extremely useful and honourable to the army, was defeated by the mean distrust of the enemies of Xenophon. They accused him of forming wild and dangerous schemes; insinuating that his intentions were to keep the soldiers from home, that they might continue his dependents; and, while they risked their own safety, procure for him fame and fortune.

While they remained at Heraclea, Cherisophus returned with vessels from the Spartan admiral; but the number was not sufficient for transporting the whole army. Chagrined at this disappointment, and discontented with the conduct of their commanders, the troops formed a rash and dangerous project of dividing into separate bodies, and of prosecuting their journey through Bithynia to Byzantium, a distance of two hundred miles. In this expedition the Greeks lost above a thousand men; but the destruction would have been much greater, had not

not the generous activity of Xenophon induced him to lead his own troops in the same direction that those pursued who had weakly deserted his standard. Cherisophus died soon after; and the chief command devolving on Xenophon, he conducted them safe to Byzantium.

No sooner had they arrived near this place than the mutinous spirit of the Grecian soldiers was again in motion; and their behaviour terrified the inhabitants of those countries. The Lacedæmonian garrison in the city feared the assistance of such dangerous allies; and Pharnabazus, the Persian satrap, alarmed for the safety of his province, made proposals to Anaxibius, to have them removed into Europe. Allured by the bribes of the satrap, Anaxibius and his successor, Aristarchus, made promises to the Greeks, which they had neither the inclination nor ability to perform. The troops, enraged at this disappointment, and at the treachery of the Spartan commanders, would have attacked and plundered Byzantium, had not the authority and the prudence of Xenophon restrained them.

His arguments repressed the mutinous disposition of the Greeks for the present; but nothing could have restrained them long from attempting enterprises of a similar nature, had not an occasion presented itself of employing their dangerous activity in the service of Seuthes, a bold and successful adventurer of Lower Thrace. The father of Seuthes, whose name was Mæsades, reigned over some of the inhabitants on the European shores of the Euxine and Propontis; but his subjects expelling him from his dominions, he sought refuge with Medocus, king of the Odrysians, the most powerful

ful tribe of Upper Thrace. Medocus, having been long connected with the family of Seuthes by the ties of hospitality, generously entertained the father; and, after the death of Mæsades, extended his benevolence to his son: but the young prince, being of an independent spirit, requested Medocus to grant him horses and soldiers, that he might attempt to regain the possession of his paternal dominions. He also sent to Xenophon Medosades, a Thracian, who, understanding the Greek language, served him in the capacity of an ambassador; and, by the liberality of his offers, induced the Grecian leader (at the expence of much fatigue and hardship to his troops) to give him effectual assistance in recovering and greatly extending his dominions. The army of Xenophon, however, was called away to engage in a more honourable war; which the resentment of Artaxerxes against the presumption of the Spartans, for supporting the unfortunate rebellion of Cyrus, had kindled.

After the downfal of the Athenian greatness, several circumstances contributed to render Persia an enemy to the Spartans. The sovereignty they possessed over all Greece, the conquests they had made on the coasts of Asia, the extent and pre-eminence of their naval power, and, above all, their open participation in the rebellion of Cyrus, excited the resentment of the Persian monarch. Their power rendered them the rival, but their assistance of Cyrus made them the enemy, of Artaxerxes. He therefore resolved to chastise their audacity; and communicated his intentions to Tissaphernes, who was sent to the possession of his hereditary province in Caria, and who had had all the property of Cyrus

bestowed on him for his recent fidelity and services.

He was also commanded to execute the vengeance of the king upon the cities in Asia that belonged to the Spartan commonwealth. He therefore attacked, without the formality of declaring war, the Æolians; while the satrap Pharnabazus entered into his views, and concurred in all his measures. The Lacedæmonian garrison, supported by the townsmen, resisted the enemy, and defended themselves with great courage. They, however, sent to Lacedæmon messengers, earnestly soliciting such a reinforcement of troops as might enable them to repel the enemy, and retain possession of their cities.

The Spartan senate, that they might not be wanting in affording their allies every necessary assistance, levied without delay an army of five thousand Peloponnesian troops and three hundred Athenian horsemen. Thimbron, the Spartan, obtained the command of these forces; and had orders, as soon as he arrived in Æolia, to take into his pay the Greeks who had engaged in the expedition under Cyrus, and who were now employed in the dishonourable service of an ungrateful barbarian. The perfidious and mean conduct of Seuthes, who, after his first successes, had much neglected his Grecian auxiliaries, and though a prince retained his original manner of a Thracian robber, made the proposal of joining his forces to those of Thimbron very agreeable to Xenophon. Six thousand men, therefore, the venerable remains of an army that had suffered so many hardships and dangers, ranged themselves under the standard of Sparta.

Thimbron

Thimbron opened the campaign against the lieutenant of Artaxerxes; and was at first successful. He took or regained the towns of Pergamus, Teuthrania, Halisarnia, Myrina, Cyme, and Grynium; but the walls of Larissa, a strong town in the Troas, defeated every effort for its reduction. The vigilant garrison, assisted by the inhabitants of the place, made a vigorous sally, repelled the besieging army, and burned or otherwise destroyed their works. The Greek troops, composed of a motley assemblage from almost every Grecian community, could only be restrained from licentiousness by constant action and uninterrupted victory. Their mutinous spirit made them extremely formidable not only to each other, but to the Greeks of Asia. Complaint was therefore made to the Lacedæmonian government of the rapacity of the troops; whose violence was ascribed to the weakness of the general.

In consequence of these representations, Thimbron was deprived of the command, and disgraced; and the Spartans appointed Dercyllidas to be his successor. This man was possessed of very fertile resources; and could vary his conduct without changing his principles. He knew when to relax, and when to exact the obedience of the soldiers; and to the qualifications of a general added the reputation of being the best engineer of his time. The machines of war, which Dercyllidas invented or improved, occasioned the reduction of Larissa in a little time: and such was the rapidity of his conquests, and the moderate use he made of victory, that the one recommended him to the Spartan senate, while the other endeared him to the colonies of Asia.

Asia. Their taxes were diminished; their complaints heard with candour; and their differences decided by him with the most impartial justice. Disdaining the cruel and arbitrary conduct of his predecessors, he imposed no oppressive exactions on the peaceful citizens and husbandmen; and, that he might not incommode and burden the subjects and allies of Sparta with the maintenance of his troops, he marched into Bithynia, and there fixed his quarters for the winter, where the valour of Xenophon and his brave followers had lately spread the terror of the Grecian name.

Though Tissaphernes had conducted a numerous and powerful army into Upper Asia, his indolence and dilatory conduct enabled the Grecian general to attempt other enterprises. Ambassadors had been sent to Sparta from the Greek colonies that inhabited the Thracian Chersonesus, requesting the assistance of the Lacedæmonians against the barbarians of the adjoining territory, who greatly disturbed and injured them. Dercyllidas afforded those unhappy Greeks the most useful assistance, by employing not the valour but the labour of the soldiers in their defence. Accordingly, he formed a wall of great strength across the isthmus that joined the Chersonese to the Thracian territory. This wall was commenced in the spring, but not finished until near autumn; although the troops laboured incessantly, and were excited to action by the promise of rewards from the wealthy inhabitants of the province.

Dercyllidas had scarcely returned from this useful employment, when the conjoined forces of the two Persian satraps, Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes

Tissaphernes, made their appearance near Ephesus. The Spartan commander immediately collected the whole of his troops, that he might give the enemy battle. The European Greeks displayed an eagerness and zeal for the engagement worthy of themselves and their country; but the Asiatics, whose minds had been enfeebled and degenerated by a long series of oppression, perceiving the numerous and powerful army of Persia with which they had to contend, were greatly intimidated, and betrayed symptoms of discontent. This panic might have proved fatal to the cause of Greece, had not the troops of Tissaphernes felt the same fear which they inspired. They recollected the bravery of the ten thousand Greeks who had accompanied Cyrus in his Persian expedition. Tissaphernes, therefore, was prevailed on, much against the mind of Pharnabazus, to propose a conference; and the irresolution of the Asiatic Greeks engaged Dercyllidas to accept the offer. An accommodation was thus concluded, in which it was agreed, that the Greek cities should remain free; that Dercyllidas should retire with his troops; that the Lacedæmonian governors should leave the cities; and that this treaty should subsist until the king of Persia and the state of Sparta either disavowed or ratified it.

The design of Tissaphernes, however, in concluding this treaty, was only to gain time by amusing the enemy. The most solemn oaths and engagements had long lost their influence over his treacherous disposition. He waited with impatience for the promised reinforcements from Asia, that he might renew the war; but the chief object of his wishes was the arrival of a large

large fleet, which had been equipped and prepared in silence and secrecy by the Persian monarch in the Phenician ports. The Spartan senate, however, were apprised of these extensive preparations by Herodas, a Syracusan; who, animated by his love to Greece, betrayed the counsels of his Phenician master. No sooner were they certified of the dangers that threatened them, than they became indignant at the treacherous conduct of Tissaphernes, and the too easy credulity of their own general.

The expedition of king Agis against the Elean territory, was the last exploit of his long and warlike reign. In his dying moments, he acknowledged Leotychides as his son; whose legitimacy the levity or the guilt of his mother had caused to be disputed. But this late recognition was altogether ineffectual. The partisans of Agesilaus, who was the younger brother of Agis by the side of his father Archidamus, were not satisfied with the avowal of Agis; and therefore contended against Leotychides, whom they entirely supplanted, and Agesilaus became king of Sparta.

Under a diminutive and ignoble form, Agesilaus concealed the most shining and noble qualities; a vigorous and fervid mind, a manly elevation of character, and a generous ambition. These great endowments, adorned by the milder radiance of candour, modesty, condescension, and almost unlimited complaisance for his friends, attracted and preserved the notice and esteem of some of the most respectable persons in Sparta. None, however, was more attached by affection to Agesilaus than Lysander; who, as his own ambitious designs and hopes of gran-

deur had been blasted by the jealousy and resentment excited against his conduct, with like magnanimity endeavoured only to aggrandise his friend. The eloquence and ability of Lysander were successfully employed in behalf of Agesilaus; but had he made use of the same powers for himself they would not have availed. It was, therefore, principally by the intrigues and the influence of Lysander that his favourite was declared successor to the vacant throne. By the same means, also, about two years afterwards, he was elected commander in chief of the Greek armies in Asia; an office less splendid, but of more weight and authority than that of king of Sparta.

At the commencement of his reign, the Spartans received the unwelcome intelligence of the formidable preparations made by the Persian monarch; and Lysander engaged them to em-
B. C. 396. ploy the great and solid, but as yet unknown, abilities of their young and warlike prince against the power of Artaxerxes. Agesilaus was the first Grecian king, since the time of Agamemnon, who led the united forces of his country against Asia; and he was accompanied by three thousand Lacedæmonian freedmen, and a body of foreign troops chiefly collected from the confederated cities in Peloponnesus. The conduct of Lysander in this expedition giving great offence to his colleagues by the superiority which he assumed, they complained of him to Agesilaus, whom they influenced to take every opportunity of humbling him and thwarting his wishes. At last he was detached from the army, and sent as ambassador to the allies of Sparta near the

Hellespont,

Hellespont, which office he discharged with great fidelity; but still finding the king ill affected towards him, he returned disgracefully to Sparta, enraged at his disappointment; and vowing revenge for the indignities and insults offered him by a man whom he had always served with fidelity, and whose ingratitude was more intolerable than the injustice of all his enemies together.

Agesilaus appointed Ephesus to be the headquarters of his troops; the central situation of which rendered it the most convenient rendezvous for the recruits that flocked to his standard from every part of the coast, while it enabled him to conceal from the enemy which of their provinces he proposed to invade. Tissaphernes sent a messenger thither, to demand of Agesilaus the reason of those vast preparations. Agesilaus made answer, in order that the Asiatic Greeks might enjoy the same freedom as their European brethren. The messengers from Tissaphernes replied that the colonies should enjoy their ancient freedom and independence. Artaxerxes, they declared, had no hostile intentions against either the Greeks in Asia or Europe; and the treaty that had been concluded between Tissaphernes and Dercyllidas might be expected shortly from Suza, ratified and confirmed by the Persian monarch. Until a firm and lasting peace should take place between Artaxerxes and the Greeks, Tissaphernes, therefore, earnestly requested that the truce might be continued on both sides; and he was ready to confirm it in whatever manner Agesilaus thought proper.

The Spartan king, remembering the former perfidy of the satrap, and judging that his pre-

sent and future actions would be similar to those which the Greeks had already experienced, frankly confessed his suspicions of treachery. Being unwilling, however, to embroil his country in an unnecessary war when peace might be obtained, he dispatched Dercyllidas and two other Spartans, to renew the late engagement with Tissaphernes. The perfidious Persian again swore to the fidelity of the engagement; and broke the solemn ties for the last time. When he had received the reinforcements which he had so long expected, Tissaphernes gave orders to Agesilaus to quit Ephesus, and evacuate the Asiatic coast; and, if he refused to comply with these demands, the satrap threatened to employ the whole weight of the Persian arms in enforcing obedience. The friends of the Spartan general were alarmed at this unexpected command: but the prudent or pious Agesilaus seemed more cheerful than usual; and observed that he rejoiced to commence a war under such favourable auspices, in which the gods would undoubtedly revenge their own cause, and punish the treachery of Tissaphernes.

In the mean time, the Spartan general prepared to encounter the insidious arts of the Persian with equal but more innocent address. Caria was the favourite residence of Tissaphernes; which he had beautified and adorned by many voluptuous parks and palaces, and strengthened with a fortress, in which was deposited all his wealth. Agesilaus industriously propagated a report that he intended to march into this province, to plunder and lay waste the possessions of Tissaphernes. In order to render this report more credible, he gave commands to the intervening

vening cities to mend the roads, to furnish provisions for the soldiers, and to prepare every thing necessary for facilitating the march of the Grecian army.

From these circumstances, Tissaphernes doubted not that Caria was the intended object of the Spartan's expedition. To this opinion he was still farther inclined, by considering that the province of Caria was mountainous; and that therefore cavalry, with which the Greeks were ill provided, could be of little or no service. He thereupon ordered his own body of horse to march to the plains of Meander, and there encamp, that they might intercept the passage of the enemy; but Agesilaus, having left a garrison of sufficient strength in Ephesus, quitted that city, and, turning north towards the government of Pharnabazus, advanced by rapid marches into Phrygia, the rich plunder of which district well repaid the labour and fatigue of the troops. When Tissaphernes understood whither the Spartan general had directed his course, he was unwilling to weaken his army by attempting the relief of the province of Pharnabazus; and therefore remained inactive on the fruitful banks of the Meander, still expecting that the Greeks would march from Ephesus and attack Caria. During the greatest part of the summer, Phrygia was plundered by Agesilaus. In several engagements, the barbarians were routed; and finding, at length, that resistance was vain and ineffectual, they desisted from defending their country. The Greeks were not even harassed in their retreat, but were permitted to return laden with spoil to Ephesus.

When the season approached for taking the

the Spartan general: and, that he might induce Agesilaus to enter into his views, he made him very considerable presents. He proposed that the Asiatic cities should enjoy their liberty, provided they paid their customary tribute to the king, and Agesilaus, with his troops, returned into Greece. The Grecian commander replied that the alternative of peace or war depended not on himself, but on the determination of the assembly and senate of Sparta: that the Greeks considered it as more honourable and glorious to take spoils from their enemies than to receive presents from them; and that he could not withdraw his army from the east without receiving the express command of the republic.

The artful satrap, perceiving the impossibility of interrupting, determined at least to divert, the course of hostilities. He knew perfectly well the use of money as an instrument of negociation. The tranquillity of the provinces under his own particular government was therefore purchased with a very large sum; and Agesilaus, considering it as a matter of little importance what part of the dominions of Persia was invaded, removed his forces out of Lydia, and marched again into Phrygia, the province of Pharnabazus.

Whilst the Spartan general was pursuing his journey northwards, he received a letter from the magistrates of Lacedæmon, testifying their grateful acknowledgments and admiration of his conduct. The term of his command was also prolonged; and the care of a numerous fleet that had sailed from Greece two years before, in order to co-operate against the common enemy, was

was entrusted to him. This fleet, consisting of ninety gallies, was commanded by Pharax; and had, during the glorious victories of Agesilaus, performed very signal and meritorious services. Artaxerxes still carried on those naval preparations which had first alarmed Greece. Numerous and powerful squadrons were equipped in the several ports of Phœnicia and Cilicia, and other maritime provinces; so that the Persian fleet was much superior, in point of strength, to the whole naval armament of Greece; but the vigilant and active Pharax prevented the union of these squadrons. The rebellious viceroy of Egypt afforded every necessary for his fleet; and had even entered into an alliance with Sparta. Cyprus, Rhodes, and the several ports of the Grecian cities in the Carian Chersonesus, were friendly, and open to his cruisers. The Grecian admiral availed himself of these opportunities of annoying the enemy. The hostile shores were strictly guarded; he divided or combined his armament according as the exigency of affairs seemed to require; and he not only prevented the enemy from making a descent on the Peloponnesian coast, but even deterred their ships from navigating the Asiatic seas.

Sparta, however, had no sooner conferred this great and unprecedented honour on Agesilaus, in which the command of the armies by sea and land was confided to him, than, unmindful of the services and activity of Pharax, he removed that very deserving officer from the office of admiral, and subsituted in his place Pisander, who was one of his near relations. This man was indeed possessed of the ambitious valour and manly firmness

firmness characteristic of the Spartans: but was wholly deficient in the experience and abilities requisite for the discharge of so important a trust.

Agesilaus still continued in Phrygia; ravaging and desolating the province of Pharnabazus, and obliging the satrap, who was unable to oppose the irresistible force of the Grecian army, to fly from post to post, and at length successively to quit every part of his valuable province. The camp of Pharnabazus was surrounded and forced by a detachment of troops, sent under the command of Spithridates, and a very valuable booty was found in it. The fame of these victories and exploits procured great respect for the Grecian troops, and inspired the neighbouring countries with terror. Cotys, or Corylas, the king of Paphlagonia, who disdained the alliance of the Persian monarch, humbly requested that his numerous and invincible cavalry might be incorporated with the Grecian troops.

Deputies were sent from the inferior satraps of the Persian monarch, soliciting the favour of the Spartan general; in the expectation that the unknown dominion of Greece would be more tolerable and lighter than the oppressive yoke of Persia, which they had long experienced to be rigorous and severe. The deceitful Ariæus, who had shared the guilt but not the punishment of Cyrus, could never be reconciled to Artaxerxes, against whom he had once rebelled. The situation he had formerly held, and the wealth which he possessed, gave him great and unlimited influence over the numerous barbarians that followed the standard of Cyrus; and who

who were so much discontented with the oppressions under which they suffered that the flame of revolt might again be easily kindled.

All Asia Minor was now in commotion. Egypt, under the discontented and factious Nephres, had already rebelled; and Agesilaus, at the head of about twenty thousand Greeks, and an almost innumerable body of barbarian allies, might very naturally expect to shake, if not overturn, the throne of Artaxerxes. He certainly did form the design of attacking the Persian monarch in the centre of his dominions, that he might disturb the tranquillity and repose he enjoyed at Ecbatana and Suza. In this he was probably encouraged by the experience of Xenophon, his friend and admirer, who was the companion of his arms, and the partaker of his glory.

It is probable that, had this enterprise been undertaken, the success, however splendid, would not have been followed by any solid advantages; since Sparta formed too narrow and feeble a basis on which to support such a weight of conquest. But this design proved abortive by means of intelligence, equally unexpected and distressing, that arrived from Greece. Tithraustes, seeing the tendency of the victories gained by the Spartan general, and desirous of preventing their effects, determined, with the approbation of Artaxerxes, to endeavour to corrupt with gold the Grecian councils; knowing that the pride and oppresion of Sparta towards their neighbours and allies, ever since it had become the master and arbitrator of Greece, had universally disgusted the other states, and excited

excited a discontent which was ready on the first occasion to break out into rebellion.

The unsuspecting confidence of Pisander, the newly created admiral of the Spartans, left the Cretan and Ægean seas very carelessly guarded. This neglect was not unperceived by Tithraustes; who dispatched Timocrates, a Rhodian, into Greece—a person well qualified by bribes and address to gain over to his party the discontented and factious of the Grecian people, that were the enemies of Sparta. Timocrates carried with him no less a sum than fifty talents, about nine thousand pounds sterling; which sum he distributed among the seditious citizens of Argos, Corinth, and Thebes. The tyranny of Sparta not only resounded through the several communities of which these venal declaimers were members, but it was soon heard in every other Grecian state. It was represented that the injustice, the cruelty, and the immeasurable ambition of Sparta, had induced that haughty republic to make the slaves soldiers, that she might thereby make her allies slaves. The invasion and destruction of the Elean territory, sacred to the Gods, was arraigned in terms of the greatest reproach. It was intimated that every other Grecian community must expect the same fate; unless they prepared, whilst it was in their power, to resist the oppression of the Lacedæmonian republic; for that the conquests of Sparta, in Asia, were pursued with no other view than that of lulling the security of Greece, and thereby enslaving more effectually the whole nation.

But, however considerable were the discontents

tents which he thus occasioned among the communities of Greece, the strength and power of Sparta were so well known, and the valour of Agesilaus was so renowned, that none of the Grecian states inimical to the interests of Lacedæmon had the courage openly to declare war. After various but secret conferences, they determined to attack Sparta by means of its faithful allies the Phocians. They persuaded a fierce and insolent people that inhabited a territory in the neighbourhood of Phocis, to levy contributions from a district to which they could have no just pretensions. This country had been the subject of much altercation, and had occasioned many disputes between the Thebans and the Phocians. The latter people, however, took up arms in consequence of this late aggression, and resolved to revenge the injury done them; whilst the Thebans, on the contrary, prepared to abet the injustice of the Locrians. It was expected, and the expectation was fulfilled, that the Spartan commonwealth would soon interfere in a matter which so nearly concerned the interests of her faithful allies of Phocis.

The Locrians applied to Thebes for assistance, which was readily granted them; and the Phocians addressed themselves to Sparta, acknowledging they were the aggressors, but declaring that they had been obliged to have recourse to arms for the defence of their territories. The irascible pride of Sparta, always ready to inflict the greatest severities for the most trivial offences, was inflamed by the supposed injury their allies had suffered; and thus conspired with the sanguine expectations of the Thebans. Lysan-

der, though now an old man, grew extremely uneasy at the inactivity of his life; the Thebans also had become obnoxious to him, because they had assisted Athens in shaking off the yoke of the thirty tyrants; and he therefore persuaded the ephori and senate once more to entrust him with the command of an army.

As soon as Lysander had prevailed in this request, he began to make preparations for commencing hostilities: and, having assembled the Maleans, Heracleans, and other northern confederates of Sparta, he put himself at the head of a powerful body of troops, and penetrated into the Theban territories; whilst Pausanias, the Spartan king, with six thousand Peloponnesians, co-operated with this experienced commander, and attacked Bœotia on the side of Cithron. Lysander, having reduced several towns in the territory of Thebes, purposed to march against Hiliartus; and, sending notice to Pausanias of his intentions, desired him to hasten thither with his troops. The messenger, however, was intercepted; and the letter, in which Lysander had signified his purpose, and appointed the time and place of rendezvous, was carried to Sparta.

When this useful intelligence was made known to the Thebans, there arrived in their city a large reinforcement of Athenian troops; whom, though their own capital was defenceless and without walls, Thrasybulus had persuaded to brave the resentment of Sparta. To these auxiliaries, the Thebans entrusted the defence of their city, their wives, their children, and their dearest interests; and the warlike youth of Thebes,

and

and all those of a military age, assembled, and marched to Hiliartus, a space of fifteen miles, during the night.

Nearly at the same time, Lysander also arrived in the neighbourhood of Hiliartus; but, though at the approach of day he heard nothing of Pausanias, his troops being flushed with recent victory, and disdaining to depend on the tardy motions of their auxiliaries, he was induced to make an assault upon the town. Accordingly, he drew up his forces; and, perceiving the walls and battlements to be unguarded, he entertained great hopes of success. But, before any breach was made, the gates were suddenly thrown open; and the Thebans and Hiliartians issued out in order of battle, and with irresistible fury. The Lacedæmonians were instantly attacked with great bravery; and Lysander, with a priest that attended him, was slain on the first onset. Before the Spartan troops had time to recover from their confusion and astonishment, a body of Thebans, who had been placed in ambush, fell upon their rear, and excited a new terror. The Lacedæmonians then every where gave way, and the defeat became universal. The Thebans lost in this engagement three hundred, and their enemies a thousand men.

The news of this discomfiture being made known to Pausanias, he marched with all expedition to Hiliartus; and endeavoured by every means in his power, to recover the dead body of Lysander. Some of the Spartan commanders proposed that they should attack the enemy, and rescue, by force of arms, the body of their general; but Pausanias, considering that the troops with whom they had to contend were

animated by their recent victory; that the forces of the enemy were more numerous than the Spartans under his command; and that Thrasybulus the Athenian, an active and enterprising general, had now joined those in the town; determined to reject this proposal. He thought it more advisable to condescend to implore the pity and the humanity of the victors; and accordingly, a Spartan herald was sent to Hiliartus, requesting leave to bury their dead. The demand was complied with, on condition that the Lacedæmonians immediately evacuated the territory of Bœotia. Pausanias agreed to these terms, and retired to Sparta. When he returned to Lacedæmon, such a spirit of resentment appeared against him, on account of his want of success rather than his demerit, that he was tried for his life, and condemned. He, however, contrived means to avoid capital punishment, and fled to Tegæa, where he sickened and died: and his son Agesipolis, an inexperienced young man, succeeded to the Spartan throne.

The defeat of the Spartans at Hiliartus confirmed the courage of their enemies, and accelerated the defection of their numerous allies. The republics of Thebes, Argos, Athens, and Corinth, openly ratified and avowed the league that had been formed against the Spartan commonwealth. The island of Euba, the provinces of Acarnania, Leucas, and Ambrosia, the rich cities of Chalcis and the warlike principalities of Thessaly, shewed symptoms of revolt. In order, therefore, to obviate the effects of this almost general defection, and to hinder the rest of their allies from acting in the same manner,

manner, it was found necessary to recal Agesilaus from his Asiatic victories, that he might prevent the ruin of his country. Accordingly, the fatal commands were received at the important crisis of his fortune. He had prepared his levies, and was about to march into upper Asia, rejoicing in the prospect of conquest and of glory, when he was summoned to return to the defence of Sparta. B. C. 394.

He immediately made known the orders which he had received from his country; while his troops besought him, by tears and intreaties, not to obey the cruel mandate, but to lead them against the central possessions of the Persian monarch. The Spartan general, however, remained firm and inflexible to his purpose; resolved to set bounds to the triumphs of his arms in the east, and to pursue less promising but not less necessary views. Accordingly, he immediately prepared for his return to Sparta; and marched his troops, amounting to about ten thousand men, into the Chersonesus. He then traversed the same countries into Greece, through which Xerxes had marched near a century before; but what the Persian monarch performed only in the space of a year, Agesilaus accomplished in a month.

He continued his journey through Thessaly; and, entering the territory of Bœotia, marched towards the Theban frontiers. He found the enemy rather provoked than discouraged, by a bloody but undecisive battle that had been fought against the Lacedæmonians, on the borders of Corinth and Sicyon. The troops of the confederates amounted to twenty thousand men; and the army of Agesilaus, having lately received

ceived great reinforcements from Sparta, and other cities that still retained their fidelity for that republic, were about the same number.—The hostile battalions began to approach each other. The Lacedæmonian troops marched in good order along the banks of the Cephissus; while the Theban soldiers descended, with great impetuosity, from the mountains of Helicon: but before they arrived in the Bœotian plains of Coronœa, an eclipse of the sun alarmed both armies.

Here it was that Agesilaus received very unexpected and unpleasing intelligence from Asia. He had imprudently committed the command of the Lacedæmonian fleet to the obstinacy and inexperience of his kinsman Pisander; whilst the Persian squadrons were entrusted to Conon and Pharnabazus, two officers of great experience. The combined armament of Persia sailed in quest of the hostile fleet. As they turned the northern point of Rhodes, they beheld the Lacedæmonian squadron, amounting to near a hundred ships, in a capacious bay of the Dorian shore. The sullen obstinacy of Pisander did not appear shaken by the approach of so formidable a fleet; and he instantly commanded his men to prepare for battle. Accordingly, the Lacedæmonians bore up to engage the enemy; but, on a nearer view, being terrified at the great superiority of numbers, the greater part of them turned their vessels towards the friendly shore of Cnidus. Pisander advanced in his galley to meet the enemy; and died fighting bravely in defence of the honour of his country. The victors pursued and sunk great numbers of the enemy's fleet: they also captured fifty gallies, which they safely carried off.

Agesilaus,

Agesilaus, on receiving these unwelcome tidings, was sensible that the consequences of this engagement would be the defection of all the cities, from Cnidus to Byzantium. He therefore assembled his troops, and informed them of the death of Pisander; but carefully concealed the defeat of the fleet, asserting that, though the admiral was slain, a complete victory had been obtained over the Persian squadrons. He then gave orders that acknowledgments and sacrifices should be offered to the Gods; and, decorating himself with a chaplet of flowers, set the example to his men of performing this pious service. This had the desired effect; and the Lacedæmonian troops were elated with the thoughts of the exploits which their countrymen had achieved in the east.

In the mean time, the main bodies of the hostile armies advanced into the plain of Cheronæa. Agesilaus gave the left wing to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. The Thebans began the engagement with great impetuosity, and bore down every thing before them; but the troops immediately under the command of Agesilaus repelled the left wing of the army, consisting chiefly of Argives and Athenians. The Spartan general was already saluted as conqueror by the troops that surrounded him; when he was informed that the Orchomenians had been repulsed and put to the rout. In order, therefore, to intercept the Thebans, who were hastening to seize the baggage, Agesilaus marched towards the left wing of the army. The Thebans, perceiving this movement of the enemy, attempted to join and rally their allies, that fled towards the mountains of Helicon.

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The Spartan king, instead of allowing the enemy to pass when he might have attacked their flank and rear with great advantage, boldly opposed their progress, and assailed them in the front. Here, says Xenophon in the energetic and inimitable language of Greece, the shock was dreadful. Their shields meeting clashed; they fought, slew, and were slain; no voice was heard, yet none was silent; the field resounded with the noise of rage and battle; and this was the most desperate and bloody scene of an action, which was itself the most desperate and bloody of any in that age.

At length, the Lacedæmonians, finding it impossible to break the firmness of the Theban front, were obliged to make use of the expedient they had at first rejected; accordingly, they opened their phalanx to let them pass, and then charged them in the flank and rear. The Thebans effected their passage to the Helicon; but could not prevail on their allies to renew the engagement. The Spartans were, therefore, left masters of the field of battle; but it was a victory so dearly purchased that the conquerors could reap no beneficial consequences. The next day, the victors employed themselves in erecting a trophy on the scene of this important action; and the enemy sent a herald to request permission to bury their dead.

The battle of Cheronæa, and the naval engagement off Cnidus, were the most considerable and decisive actions in the Bœotian or Corinthian war. The inhabitants of Corinth had greatly promoted the alliance of the Grecian and other states against the Spartan commonwealth. No sooner, however, did the Corinthians

thians feel the effects of having the seat of war in their own country, than they repented of the measure they had so rashly recommended; and the more wealthy inhabitants desired a separate peace, to accomplish which they intended to summon an assembly of the people, who might resolve on what was most expedient to be done.

But whilst this was in agitation, Timolaus and Polyanthes, the mercenaries of a barbarian slave, yet, nevertheless, the pretended patrons of Corinthian liberty, contrived to anticipate a design so unfavourable to their interests. They committed, in conjunction with others of their party, one of the most horrid massacres recorded in history. On the Eucleian festival, when many of the citizens were in the market-place, or assembled at the dramatic entertainments, an assault was made by the partisans of democracy. All the Corinthians were destroyed, whom they considered as most likely to oppose their measures; and the great body of the people, when they perceived that nothing could restrain the fury of their persecutors, and that neither temples nor altars afforded any protection, prepared to leave their country. They were, however, restrained from executing this design, by the lamentable cries of their wives and children; and by the declaration of the assassins themselves, who assured them that their only intention was to deliver their city from traitors, who were the friends of Sparta and of slavery.

In the mean time, the patriotic Conon, who desired no personal reward for the services he had rendered the Persian monarch, employed his favour with Artaxerxes to retrieve the affairs of his country. This was the honourable motive

tive that had alone engaged, and that still retained him, in the service of Persia. By his representations, he inflamed the resentment which both Artaxerxes and Pharnabazus had justly harboured against Sparta. He persuaded them to send a fleet, early in the spring, to ravage the coasts of Greece, and retaliate the injuries received by the victories of Agesilaus. He told them that, to humble completely the Spartan pride, they should raise Athens to the pitch of greatness at which she once stood, and make her again the successful rival of that imperious republic.

This proposal of the able Athenian was heard, and approved. The expenses necessary for carrying the design into execution were liberally supplied; and the Persian fleet setting sail reduced the Cyclades and Cythera, and ravaged the whole coast of Laconia. The armament then directed its course to the long-neglected harbours of Phalerus, Munichia, and Piræus. The very important task of decorating and fortifying the ancient city of Minerva was begun, carried on, and soon accomplished; and Conon, seconded by the zeal of the Athenians, in a short time rebuilt the walls of Athens, restored the city to its ancient splendour, and rendered it more formidable than ever to its enemies.

When this mortifying intelligence was brought to Sparta, the citizens of that republic, considering the power and grandeur of a city, their ancient rival, and almost continual enemy, as the certain destruction of their own state, felt the most pungent affliction. They were now ready to abandon every other design, and to submit to the most humiliating terms; provided

B. C. 392.

provided they could prevent the growing greatness of Athens, and induce the Persian monarch to withdraw his support from that dangerous republic. That they might effect this, they sent several successive embassies to Persia; and, whilst they paid their court to the other satraps of Artaxerxes, they purposely neglected Pharnabazus, from whom, as the victories of Agesilaus had been peculiarly detrimental to the provinces of that warlike Persian, they could not expect any favour.

Among the ministers employed by the Spartan republic, at the court of Persia, was Antalcidas, a man of whose prior history we have no account. Except the artful and daring Lysander, Sparta never employed a more proper agent to treat with the barbarians. He is said to have been bold, eloquent, subtile, and complying. A master in all the arts of insinuation and address, he was well qualified to undertake and execute the design on which he was sent. He not only pretended to admire the effeminate customs and adulation of a corrupt court, but conformed himself in every thing to the Persian manners, and derided the severe institutions of his own country. The frugal and self-denying maxims of Lycurgus were the peculiar objects of his contempt; but he, in a more particular manner, delighted the voluptuous, cowardly, and perfidious satraps and courtiers, when he ridiculed the firmness and probity of Leonidas and Callicratidas, men who had rendered signal and essential service to Greece, at the expense and dishonour of Persia.

The abilities of such a minister were also aided by the imprudent ambition of Conon. Unmindful

ful of his engagements to act against the common enemy, he considered only how he might promote the interest and power of the Athenian republic. He sailed with his fleet to the Cyclades, to Chios, to Lesbos, and even to Æolis and Ionia; and, displaying the strength of his armament, endeavoured to persuade or compel them to submit again to the authority of Athens. When it was known that Sparta had sent ministers to treat with the Persian monarch, a deputation was also dispatched from the Athenian republic, with orders to act in concert with the ambassadors sent by the Bœotians and Argives. Their overtures, however, were but little regarded; while those of Antalcidas met with the warmest approbation.

The Spartans offered to resign all pretensions to the Greek cities in Asia, and acknowledge them as the dependencies of the Persian monarch; and they promised to promote the future prosperity of the king's dominions, by settling the affairs of Greece in such a manner as should best suit the conveniency and the wishes of Artaxerxes. For this purpose, they were ready to declare all the cities and islands, of what extent soever, altogether independent of each other; in consequence of which there would be no republic sufficiently powerful to disturb the tranquillity of the Persian empire. These terms of peace, which the most insolent minister of the king could alone have dictated, were transmitted to Suza by the satrap Terribazus, to be approved and ratified by Artaxerxes. Antalcidas received a pecuniary reward for his services; but the unfortunate and patriotic Conon was punished by immediate death, or sentenced to an ignominious

nominious confinement. Authors are not agreed as to the fate of this able and worthy man: but his actions confer on him an important place in the rank of Grecian worthies; and his son Timotheus supported and rivalled the character of an illustrious father.

It might have been expected that the conditions of peace offered by Sparta would have met no opposition from the Persian court; especially as the advantages they held out to Artaxerxes were extremely great. The negociations, however, were suffered to languish for several years. This delay was occasioned by the removal of Teribazus from his place of viceroy, who was succeeded by Struthas, a man greatly devoted to the interests of Athens; and by the powerful solicitations of the Bœotian and Argive deputies, who represented the designs and sincerity of the Spartan commonwealth in a very unfavourable point of view.

Whilst the court of Suza refused to confirm and ratify the treaty of peace, the war in the Grecian states was pursued with unremitting vigour. The harvests and the villages belonging to the enemies of Sparta in Peloponnesus, were destroyed by the Lacedæmonian garrisons of Sicyon and Lechæum: and, on the other hand, the Bœotians and Argives retaliated those injuries upon the Spartans, by making several hostile incursions into the Lacedæmonian territories, which they ravaged and laid waste; while the Athenians, as if they had obtained the sovereignty of the sea, made every preparation to man and equip their fleets.

The ancient and well-merited fame of Thrasybulus had, during the latter part of Conon's life,

been eclipsed by the recent and more dazzling splendour of the renown of that illustrious Athenian; while Athens approached towards power and independence, by the exertions of Conon, the extraordinary abilities, and still more extraordinary fortune of Thrasybulus, in rescuing his country twice from the yoke of tyrants, seemed almost forgotten by the ungrateful Athenians. But, after Conon had been put to death, or imprisoned, Thrasybulus was entrusted with the command of the fleet of Athens, consisting of forty sail. With this armament he scoured the Ægean sea, and directed his course to the Hellespont; persuading or compelling the inhabitants of Byzantium, and of several other Thracian cities, to break their alliance with Sparta, to abolish the aristocratical form of government, and to accept the friendship of Athens.

The isle of Lesbos was the next object to which he directed his attention. The Spartan power was here maintained by a considerable body of troops. Thrasybulus landed his men on the island; and engaged the enemy in a general battle, in which he obtained a complete victory, killing with his own hand Therimachus, the Spartan governor, who commanded the hostile troops. On this the principal cities of Lesbos immediately submitted to Athens. Thus victorious, he sailed toward the island of Rhodes, where he knew there still existed a powerful faction in favour of the Athenians; but, before he proceeded to that important place, he thought it advisable to multiply the resources and confirm the affections of the fleet.

That he might raise supplies, therefore, for this exigency, he visited most of the maritime cities

cities of Asia. At length, he entered the mouth of the river Eurymedon, and began to levy a very heavy contribution on the inhabitants of Aspendus; but, though the barbarians had endured with great patience and servility the depredations to which they were often exposed, they could now suffer them no longer. They could not brook the unfeeling rapacity and intolerable exactions of the soldiers and sailors under the command of Thrasybulus. Attacking, therefore, the Grecian camp during the night, the security of the Athenian general was surprised; and he fell a sacrifice to the error he had committed.

The unjust treatment of Aspendus, one of the interior cities of Pamphylia, a province that acknowledged the power of the Persian monarch, furnished Antalcidas with a sufficient argument for prosecuting his suit with Artaxerxes. That vigilant and artful minister did not let slip so favourable an opportunity of rousing the resentment of the king against the Athenians, his ancient and inveterate foes. It is, however, doubtful whether Antalcidas would have been able to effect his purpose, and to procure the ratification of the treaty of peace, had not the mad imprudence of the Athenians, in affording assistance at this critical juncture to Evagoras king of Salamis, in his attempt to throw off his dependence on Persia, decided the fluctuating irresolution of Artaxerxes, and crowned the triumphs of Antalcidas.

This extraordinary measure of the Athenians determined Artaxerxes to espouse the cause of Sparta. Accordingly the king dictated the terms of peace, and in nearly the same words, that Alcibiades had first proposed. B. C. 387.

By this treaty it was agreed that the Persian monarch, in conjunction with the Spartan republic should make war upon any community that should reject the conditions of the peace.—It was foreseen that Athens, Thebes, and Argos might refuse the terms of a treaty proposed by their avowed enemies: Antalcidas accordingly, aided by the Persian monarch, equipped a very powerful armament; and the preparations made in Asia and Greece intimidated the confederates, and compelled them to comply with a peace as disgraceful as it was injurious. The Boeotian cities were acknowledged as independent; but the Greek cities in Asia, the island of Cyprus, and the peninsula of Clazomene, were made subject to Persia. Athens was allowed to retain the isles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Syros; but all the other republics, small and great, were made free and independent.

Amidst this universal obsequiousness of the Grecian communities to the haughty demands of Persia, Evagoras was the only person that dared to oppose the execution of the terms of the treaty; he asserted the independence of Cyprus, and prepared to resist the commands of the king, and to set the power of Artaxerxes at defiance. Evagoras confided in the resources of his own vigorous mind, in the superiority of skill which his seamen possessed, and in the assistance of the king of Egypt; but the numerous and powerful squadrons of Terribazus, which he had prepared for this purpose, blasted all his hopes. His forces were discomfited in a naval engagement; his territories were ravaged; and he was obliged to shut himself up in Salamis, which the enemy threatened with a siege. His enemies, however, did

did not wish to persevere, nor to drive him to despair. They therefore permitted him to retain the possession of the ancient principality of Teucer, but as a tributary to the Persian monarch. B.C. 385.

CHAP. XIII.

Affairs of Greece from the Peace of Antalcidas to the Battle of Midea.

THE peace of Antalcidas forms an important but disgraceful epocha in the annals of Grecian history. The valuable colonies in Asia, which had been the cause and the object of so many wars, were now fully acknowledged as dependencies of the Persian king. Artaxerxes arranged the plan of domestic policy to be pursued by a people that, less than two hundred years before, had given law to his ancestors. The Greeks now found their ancient confederacy dissolved; their smaller cities were freed from dependence on the more powerful republics; the whole nation was disunited, and weakened; and they experienced the languor, without the benefits, of peace.

Ambitious of the sovereignty of Greece, Sparta saw with concern the walls and fortifications of her rival rebuilt, and Athens endeavouring to regain the command of the sea; Thebes and Argos disdaining to acknowledge her pre-eminence; the inferior states of Peloponnesus obeying with reluctance the summons to arms; and

the valuable colonies in Macedon and Thrace joining the confederates. Scarcely a vestige remained of the trophies which had been erected in a war of twenty-seven years: the colonies in the east were irrecoverably lost; and this rapid decline of power had been principally occasioned by the splendid victories of Agesilaus in Asia.

These were probably the causes that moved Sparta to solicit and promote a treaty, so pregnant with ruin and destruction to the several communities of Greece. The first victim of this ambitious policy was the flourishing republic of Mantinæa, situated in the center of Arcadia, which was itself in the middle of Peloponnesus. Under pretence of their having furnished the Argives (the avowed enemies of Sparta) with corn during the late war, the inhabitants were ordered to demolish their walls and abandon their city; and, on their refusal, the Spartans commenced a long and violent siege against it, which was only terminated by the Mantenæans being compelled (after an obstinate and honourable resistance) to yield to the insolent demand, and relinquish for ever their native place. The factions also which prevailed in Phlius furnished the Spartans with an opportunity of displaying the same domineernig and tyrannical spirit, in interfering with the internal affairs of that state.

Complaints, however, which were made to them in their self-assumed character of arbitrators of Greece, against the Olynthians, caused them greater difficulties. These people, who had arisen from a mean origin, had gradually made conquests of the southern shores of Macedonia, and of several parts of their neighbouring country of the Chalcidica; and it was from two considerable

siderable cities of the latter, Acanthus and Apollonia, that the present application proceeded. The Lacedemonians engaged in this undertaking; and, notwithstanding the loss of two whole armies, with their generals Eudamidas and Teleutias, they persevered with the assistance of Amyntas king of Macedonia, and formed the siege of Olynthus. The Olynthians, pressed by famine, were obliged to capitulate. They ceded all claim to the sovereignty of the Chalcidica, restored the Macedonian cities to their rightful owner, and engaged, by solemn contract, to obey in peace and war the commands of their Spartan confederates and masters. Amyntas then forsook the place of his royal residence, and re-established his court at Pella; which became, and thenceforth continued, the capital of Macedonia.

Phæbidas, who was intended to follow Eubidas into the Chalcidican territory with a powerful reinforcement, knowing the distracted state of Thebes at this time, and, as it is said, having received private instructions from his government, seized upon Cadmea the Theban citadel, and commanded Ismenias and other leaders of the popular faction to be taken into custody. The Spartan senate, that they might avoid the blame which this action would undoubtedly occasion, deprived Phæbidas of the command of the army, and mulcted him in the sum of one hundred thousand drachmas.* B. C. 383.

During five years the Spartan government maintained a garrison of fifteen hundred men in Cadmea. The partisans of aristocracy, protect-

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* About 3080l. Sterling.

ed by such a body of troops, gained an absolute ascendancy over the rest of the city; and the tyranny exercised in that republic was so great that it resembled the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of the thirty tyrants at Athens. This severity drove the Thebans to despair; and the persecuted exiles abroad, and the oppressed subjects at home, were ready to embrace any measure that might seem likely to free their country from the tyranny of Sparta and the aristocratical faction.

Among the Theban fugitives, who had taken refuge in Athens during the late tyrannical proceedings of Sparta, was Pelopidas.

His birth had been inferior to none; but his private fortune was superior to all; and in the manly exercises, which the Greeks so much esteemed, he excelled every one. His attachment to democracy was hereditary; and, before the late melancholy revolution in the state, he was considered as the most proper person for administering the government.

Pelopidas held many consultations with his fellow-sufferers at Athens, about the means of restoring the liberty of Thebes. He instanced the patriotic example of Thrasybulus, who had, with a handful of men, executed a similar but more difficult enterprize, to encourage his countrymen in the undertaking. Phyllidas, whose great activity, address, and courage, entitle him to the regard of history, was introduced into their nocturnal assemblies; he was highly respected by Leontidas, Archias, and the other magistrates, or rather tyrants, of the republic; and he therefore made an entertainment, and invited those men to partake of it.

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In the mean time Phyllidas having made known his plan to the rest of the conspirators, they met at Thebes at the time appointed. The tyrants, however, having by some means been informed of the conspiracy that was meditated, summoned one of the principal persons of the plot to attend them, just as Pelopidas and others had put on their arms for the purpose. But the conspirator, whom the magistrates had ordered to wait on them, behaved with great intrepidity and dissimulation, and quieted the solicitude of the tyrants. In the midst of the banquet, however, a courier arrived from Athens with a letter for Archias, revealing the whole conspiracy. The messenger informed Archias that the person who gave him the letter desired he would read it immediately, as it contained business of importance. Archias took the letter; and, replying with a smile, "Serious business to-morrow," deposited it under his couch. Soon after, the conspirators entered dressed in female attire; and, on a signal being given, they drew their daggers, and easily dispatched the intoxicated magistrates.

The whole city was soon in commotion; and the inhabitants, alarmed and terrified, waited impatiently for the morning, that they might discover the cause of this nocturnal tumult. During a moment of dreadful suspense, a herald proclaimed the death of the tyrants, and invited to arms the friends of liberty and the republic.

Epaminondas, who had not yet joined the conspirators, obeyed with many others the welcome invitation. This youth was possessed of the most illustrious merit; the wisdom of the sage and the magnanimity of the hero shone forth

forth in his character, accompanied by every mild and gentle virtue. In knowledge and eloquence he surpassed all his contemporaries; and in birth, valour, and patriotism, he was not inferior to Pelopidas, with whom he had contracted an early friendship. The doctrines of the Pythagorean philosophy, which he had diligently studied, rendered him averse from embruing his hands in the blood of his fellow-citizens: but when matters were brought to their present crisis, he appeared a firm and strenuous advocate in the cause of liberty; and his example greatly animated the other brave and generous youths who disdained the yoke of tyranny.

Preparations were now making for an attack on the citadel, in which was the Lacedæmonian garrison; when several thousand men arrived from Athens, who had been sent to assist the Thebans in the meditated revolution. The arrival of those auxiliaries was very seasonable and acceptable, and excited the Thebans to attempt the citadel immediately. Pelopidas began the siege of the place; and the garrison, intimidated by the impetuosity and enthusiasm of the assailants, and the continual increase of their numbers, offered to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to depart in safety with their arms. This was accordingly granted; but no stipulations were made on the part of those unfortunate Thebans who had taken refuge in the citadel when the first alarm was excited in the city: they fell a sacrifice to the resentment and inhumanity of their countrymen. A remnant only was saved by the humane interposition of the Athenians; and thus was the prediction of Epaminondas verified, that the revolution could not be

be accomplished without the effusion of civil blood.

The emancipation of Thebes from the yoke of Sparta hurt the pride and the ambition of that republic. In order, however, to punish what the Lacedemonians were pleased to term the unprovoked rebellion of their subjects, Cleombrotus, their king, was sent into Bœotia in the depth of winter, to recover, if possible, their usurped dominions. Agesilaus, whose ardent and aspiring mind had long directed the ambitious councils of Sparta, found that, though he enjoyed the glory, he could not avoid the odium which his exalted station naturally occasioned; but, that he might not increase the displeasure of the people, he permitted the inexperience of his colleague to conduct the plan of the Theban war. The severity of the season did not allow Cleombrotus to perform any other exploit than the defeating a few straggling parties; but the presence of a Lacedæmonian army served to confirm the obedience of several inferior communities. Cleombrotus soon returned to Sparta, and left the prosecution of his designs to Sphodrias. B. C. 378.

In the mean time the Athenians, apprehensive of being called to account for the assistance they had given the Theban republic, had publicly disavowed what they had done. But Sphodrias, a bold, ambitious, and rash commander, was persuaded by the Theban chiefs to attack Piræus. Accordingly he marched with the flower of his army early in the morning, expecting to reach Piræus before the dawn of day. He had not, however, proceeded further than the Thrasian plain before the day appeared.

ed. The inhabitants of Eleusis were alarmed at the approach of the Spartan army: and information of this event was immediately dispatched to Athens, whose citizens immediately flew to arms; and preparations were instantly made for a vigorous defence. This rash enterprise, and the still more imprudent conduct of Sphodrias, in ravaging the country during his retreat, justly incensed the Athenians against Sparta. They seized the persons of several Lacedæmonians who resided in the city, and committed them to prison. An embassy was then sent to Sparta, to complain of this infraction of the peace; and to represent, in the most indignant language, the insults and the injuries of Sphodrias. The Lacedæmonians disavowed the conduct of their commander, and recalled him to be tried capitally for the offence. Agesilaus, however, at the intercession of his son Archidamus, who greatly esteemed Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, interceded for him with the Spartan assembly, and obtained his life.

But it is not improbable that Agesilaus was privy to the designs of the Lacedæmonian general; and that, though the Spartans refused to acknowledge the action, they would have instantly approved it, had the enterprise been crowned with success. In this light, at least, it appeared to the Athenians; who were still more indignant at the acquittal of Sphodrias. They immediately renewed their alliance with Thebes; and began to equip a fleet, to enlist seamen, and, in short, to make every preparation for prosecuting a vigorous war with Sparta.

In the mean time Agesilaus, with an army of eighteen thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse,

horse, continued to invade and ravage the territories of Bœotia, but performed no considerable exploits. Chabrias, the Athenian, who commanded the Theban troops, which had been lately reinforced with a considerable body of mercenary soldiers, repelled the Spartan king from Thebes, not by force, but by stratagem. The Theban army, though considerably augmented, was nevertheless far inferior to that of the enemy in point of numbers, and was therefore compelled to act upon the defensive. Chabrias had ordered his troops to occupy a rising ground in the neighbourhood of their city. The Spartan general sent a detachment from his army to compel him to quit the advantageous situation on which he was encamped; but the Thebans bravely maintained their position, and obliged Agesilaus to bring up all his forces, that he might dislodge them. In this also the Spartan general was deceived. Chabrias commanded his troops to support their advanced bodies on the left knee, to extend their shields and spears, and firmly to maintain their ranks. This was a movement equally new and unexpected to Agesilaus; and had been only lately taught the Thebans by Chabrias, to be employed on an emergency like the present. Alarmed at the boldness of this unusual array, the Spartan commander withdrew his forces from the capital, without attempting any thing more against the Theban troops in their present situation.

The Spartans now became every day less formidable to the Thebans, who were soon enabled to act offensively against the enemy. In the battle at Tanagra, Pelopidas slew the Lacedæmonian general who had succeeded Agesilaus in

the command; and, in the engagement near the city of Tegyra, the Spartan troops were routed and put to flight, though superior in number. This was a disgrace they had never before suffered, and such as they could not reflect on without sorrow.

Whilst those hostilities were carried on by land, the Athenians had equipped a fleet, and entrusted the command of it to Chabrias. This able commander met the Lacedæmonian squadron near Naxos; and offering it battle, an engagement ensued, in which the Spartan armament was shamefully defeated, and lost thirty-six galleys. This was the first time the Athenians had obtained a victory at sea, with their own ships, since the Peloponnesian war. But the principal scene of action was the Ionian sea,

B. C. 376. where Timotheus and Iphicrates were every where victorious against the commanders that opposed them. In consequence of these repeated defeats, the navy of Sparta was totally ruined; the coasts of Laconia were ravaged by the victors; and the isles of Corcyra, Zacynthus, Leucadia, and Cephalonia, suffered greatly. The more remote islands and cities acknowledged the power of the conquerors; and Chios and Byzantium, deserting their involuntary connexion with Sparta, once more concluded a treaty of alliance with the Athenian republic.

While the Greeks were engaged in those destructive measures which, though they subdued not the spirit of the vanquished, tended equally to weaken the conquerors and the conquered, Artaxerxes endeavoured, by bribes and promises, to interrupt the hostilities of the Grecian states,

states, and to promote among them universal tranquillity. The Persian monarch was induced to desire the reconciliation of the communities of Greece, that he might obtain their assistance against his rebellious subjects in Egypt. The republics of Sparta and Athens were now tired of the war: the former had every thing to lose, and the latter nothing to gain, by its continuance. The emissaries of Artaxerxes, therefore, found a very favourable reception in both these communities; and the resolutions of Sparta and Athens gave law to many of the other states of Greece. So uncertain and deplorable was the condition of the Greeks in general, at that time, that about twenty thousand enlisted themselves under the standard of Persia. Iphicrates was appointed their commander; but that general, and the troops under his care, soon returned, disgusted with the ignorance, pride, and timidity of the Persians, and without performing any considerable enterprise.

In the mean time the Thebans, elated by their prosperity, refused to obey the solicitations of Artaxerxes. While, therefore, the troops of their enemies were engaged in the expedition against Egypt, they availed themselves of that opportunity to reduce several of the Bœotian cities under their subjection. The walls of Thespia were levelled with the ground; and those of Platæa underwent the same fate. The inhabitants of this latter city were driven into banishment; but the Athenians, with whom they had taken refuge, warmly espoused their cause. The Thebans heard, however, with equal arrogance and contempt the remonstrances of friends and the threats of enemies. This in-

human transaction of the Thebans, together with their supercilious behaviour, wholly alienated the Athenians from them, and deprived them of an ally to whom they were indebted for the liberty and independence of their state. The republic of Athens, at this time, seemed desirous of promoting a lasting peace with Sparta, on the principles of the treaty of Antalcidas; and the king of Persia, still finding it necessary to employ Greek auxiliaries in the war against Egypt, was induced to employ his good offices in effecting a general peace among the states of Greece. Accordingly, a convention of the Grecian communities was held, to which the Thebans sent Epaminondas as their representative.

The differences of Sparta and Athens were soon adjusted; and, forgetting their ancient animosity, they were both incensed at the treatment of Thespia and Platæa. They lamented the wars that had raged between the two republics, and felt much satisfaction at the short but glorious interval of moderation and concord. They were now convinced, by fatal experience, that it was requisite to lay down their arms, and to promote harmony and tranquillity throughout all the states of Greece. The peace, however, they considered as not likely to be useful and permanent, unless founded on the principles of the treaty of Antalcidas, which ensured equality and freedom of to the least and most insignificant, as well as to the most populous and powerful, communities. It was therefore proposed, by the same contract, to which Athens and Sparta, with their several confederates, had formerly acceded, should be revived, and made the basis of the present pacification.

Epaminondas

Epaminondas then rose and observed that the Athenians had signed the treaty for all Attica; and that the Spartans had signed not only for the cities of Laconia, but also for their several numerous allies in Peloponnesus. He therefore contended that Thebes ought also to sign for all the cities of Bœotia. Agesilaus, however, jealous of the ascendancy which the Thebans had acquired over that district, insisted that the cities should accede to the treaty as independent states: while Epaminondas, undismayed by the fear of incurring the resentment of Sparta, aided by the subjected Peloponnesus, warned the deputies that, by timidly refusing to support him in his claim, they were contributing to destroy the only power which (in the present circumstances of Athens) could serve as a balance against the insulting and oppressive superiority of Sparta, and to confirm on their country the chains of dependence. The congress then broke up; with a result totally opposite to that tranquillity which it was intended to restore.

Nor was Epaminondas totally without confidence in venturing this opposition to the power of Sparta. A long course of hostilities had weakened and destroyed the energies and vigour of that republic: and not more than four thousand warriors were left to maintain and defend an empire, the splendour of which was greatly diminished; while their insulted and oppressed allies yielded an unwilling assistance. On the other hand, a severe system of military discipline had been introduced into the Theban army: their cavalry had been considerably improved in arms and exercise; and different modes of contending with the enemy had been adopted.

A number of their citizens had united themselves together in the closest manner, and by the most solemnities. Emulation, ardour, mutual esteem, and a spirit of combination which frequently prevails in times of turbulence, had inspired them with the glorious resolution of dying in the defence of each other. This association originally consisted of about three hundred Thebans, whose valour and fidelity had been experienced, and of whom Pelopidas, the restorer and defender of the freedom of his country, was entrusted with the command. The great friendship that subsisted among this select body of Thebans occasioned their being called the Sacred Band. For a long succession of years, and amidst innumerable engagements, they were always victorious, wherever and against whomsoever they fought; but at length they fell, with the freedom of Thebes, of Athens, and of Greece, in the fatal and ever memorable field of Cheronæa. Such were the circumstances of those two rival republics, when they were about to engage in hostilities against each other.

Several months elapsed, after the congress held at Sparta, before Agesilaus and his son Archidamus had collected the strength of Lacedæmon, and the forces of their tardy allies. The old king found himself unfit to take the field in person: but he prevailed on the ephori and senate to give the command of the army to his colleague Cleombrotus; who was, therefore, ordered to march without delay into Bœotia, and to invade the hostile territory. They promised to send him more powerful reinforcements; and, for that purpose, appointed the plain of Leuctra, which surrounded an obscure and inconsiderable village

village of that name, and was situated on the frontier of Bœotia, about ten miles from the sea and from Platæa. The plain was surrounded on all sides by the lofty ridges of Helicon, Citheron, and Cynocephalæ.

Having dispersed a few detachments of Thebans that guarded the defiles of mount Helicon, the Spartans and their confederates joined forces in this neighbourhood. The Peloponnesian army amounted to twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; whilst the troops of the Thebans, that had been dispersed over all the frontier in order to oppose the desultory attacks of the enemy's cavalry, scarcely amounted to half that number. The Theban horse, however, were nearly as numerous as those of the Spartans, and far excelled them in discipline and valour. The Thebans were then exhorted by Epaminondas to march from their city, that they might hinder the defection of their Bœotian allies, and prevent the enemy from besieging them in Thebes. Accordingly they set forward, and proceeded to the neighbouring mountains; they then encamped, having a full view of the Spartans in the plain.

Both armies now prepared to engage. The cavalry of each commenced the action. The Spartan horses, having been principally employed for pleasure by the richer citizens in time of peace, were a very unequal match for the disciplined and vigorous Thebans. Their ranks were, therefore, speedily broken, and thrown into confusion, and they were compelled to fall back on the foot. The sacred band seized the opportunity to take advantage of the disorder which their repulse and rout had occasioned

sioned in the army of the Lacedæmonians. Epaminondas contrived and executed one of those rapid evolutions, which not unfrequently decide the fate of a battle. He formed some of his strongest but least numerous forces into a compact wedge, with a sharp front and a spreading flank. He expected that the Lacedæmonians, as soon as they had recovered their ranks, would attack the more extended and weakest part of his army; which, on account of the arrangement that it had been necessary to form, seemed rather prepared to retreat, than to withstand an attack.

The Theban general was not deceived in the expectations he had formed. The Lacedæmonians pressed forward against the right wing of the enemy, where little or no resistance was experienced. In the mean time he urged forward his left with great impetuosity; and, assailing the flank of the Spartans, obliged them to give way. Epaminondas and his troops soon arrived at the post of Cleombrotus. The Lacedæmonians perceiving their king in danger, the degenerate disciples of Lycurgus were recalled to their ancient principles. The bravest and most vigorous of the Spartans hastened from every part of the army to defend the person of their prince, and to cover him with their shields. For some time the impetuosity of the Spartans bore all before them, and the Thebans were repelled in turn; but the Spartan horsemen who formed the body guard of the king, being at length cut off, Cleombrotus fell on his breathless or expiring defenders, pierced with many wounds.

The death of this chief added fury to the battle.

tle. Then it was that anger, resentment, and despair, agitated by turns the breasts of the Spartans. According to the superstitious ideas which then prevailed, the death of the king was considered as a slight misfortune, when compared with the disgraceful impiety of permitting his body to be mangled and disfigured by the enemy. Every exertion was therefore used to prevent this abomination, and they succeeded in their endeavours; but they could achieve nothing more. Epaminondas was careful to fortify the ranks of his army, and to maintain that order which was necessary for ensuring success. He gained a complete victory over the Spartans; who, betaking themselves to flight, were pursued by the Thebans, and great numbers of them slain. The principal strength of the allies had, during the greatest part of the battle, remained inactive; but when they understood that the Spartan king was slain, their wavering irresolution was decided, and they retreated with the rest of the army. Epaminondas did not pursue the fugitives to their camp, which was strongly fortified, and could not be taken without great loss; but, having buried the dead, he erected a trophy on the field of battle. When the Spartans were out of the reach of danger, and had time to reflect on the extent of their misfortunes, they were actuated by shame, grief, and despair; and became sensible that, on no former occasion, the interests of their republic had suffered so severe a wound. The Lacedæmonians lost one thousand, and the allies two thousand six hundred men; whilst the Thebans had only three hundred men killed, B. C. 370.

killed, among whom were only four of their citizens.

No sooner was the intelligence of the battle of Leuctra diffused over Greece, than all Peloponnesus was in commotion. The Eleans, Arcadians, and Argives, with the other Grecian communities which Sparta had either influenced by her councils or intimidated by her power, openly aimed at independence. The inferior republics expected to be freed from the heavy contributions with which they had hitherto been burthened, and that they should not be compelled to go to war on every trivial occasion; while the more populous and powerful states breathed nothing but hatred and revenge, and gloried in the prospect of being able to humble the proud and insolent senators of Sparta.

The republic of Athens, however, acted a very different part. Immediately after the engagement at Leuctra, the Thebans had dispatched a messenger, adorned with the emblems of peace and victory, to inform the Athenians of the particulars of the battle, and to invite them to enter into an offensive alliance against Sparta. But Timotheus and Iphicrates, who at that time presided over the Athenian assembly, determined to humble, not to destroy, their inveterate enemy. Athens had also become jealous of the power of Thebes, and was therefore still more unwilling to act against Sparta. The Theban herald was allowed to return home, without receiving the smallest satisfaction on the subject of his mission; and Athens was soon sensible that the battle at Leuctra had given her the superiority over all Greece.

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The battle of Leuctra was, in its consequences, doubly prejudicial to the Spartan commonwealth: it weakened the confederacy of the states with whom they were in alliance, and strengthened the power of the enemy. In the subsequent period of two years, most of the Spartan allies in Peloponnesus shook off the yoke, and united themselves to other states.—While, on the contrary, the favour of Thebes was sought by most of the communities in Peloponnesus; and in the north of Greece, the Acarnanians, Locrians, Phocians, the whole breadth of the continent between the Ionian and Ægean seas, and the isle of Eubœa, increased the power and extended the dominion of Thebes. Factions prevailed in every republic of Greece; and the aristocratical party was almost universally expelled and banished from every state and every city. Fourteen hundred inhabitants were driven from Tegæa; and in Argos two thousand of the aristocratical faction were slain.—The Mantinæans alone seemed to have acted with prudence; they embraced this opportunity of rebuilding the walls and fortifications of their city, made the form of their government democratical, and determined to preserve the strength of their city, which appeared so necessary for maintaining their political independence.

Neither the Thebans nor Spartans interfered in any of these internal commotions. The former were too busily employed in the northern parts of Greece, intending to invade and ravage Laconia; and the latter were so much humbled by the unfortunate battle at Leuctra that they contented themselves with preparing to defend the banks of the Eurotas, and to repel the threat-

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ened assault of their capital. All the forces, however, which they could possibly raise, were commanded to take the field: and they were on the point of giving arms to the Helots, as their last resource, when the fugitives from Argolis, Achaia, and Arcadia, arrived, and offered their services to the most ancient and distinguished patrons of their political principles. Thus encouraged and reinforced, the Spartans bid defiance to the threats of invasion, and endeavoured to recover their lost dominions in Arcadia. A detachment of troops, therefore, marched into the territory of that state; but the Spartan general performed nothing decisive against the enemy. He contented himself with ravaging the villages and fields of that delightful country; in which he met with no resistance from the enemy, who waited for a reinforcement from the Thebans, before they would commence an engagement.

At length the Thebans took the field; with an army more numerous than had ever before assembled in Greece under one standard, and which amounted to fifty, or as some say to seventy, thousand men. These forces were composed of the warlike youth of Bœotia, of the Acarnanians, Phocians, Locrians, and Eubœans, together with a promiscuous crowd of needy followers, whom the prospect of plunder had allured to the Theban camp. They had no sooner arrived on the frontier of Arcadia than they were joined by the inhabitants of that country, and by the Eleans and Argives. Pelopidas and Epaminondas commanded the Thebans. Agesilaus, informed of the march of so powerful an army, conducted by generals of such great merit and

and abilities, prepared to return to Sparta before his soldiers had seen the fires kindled in the hostile camp, by which he would avoid the disgrace of retreating before the enemy. He therefore led his forces to defend their own country, which was now threatened with an invasion.

The Theban generals, finding the Arcadians freed from the terror and injuries of the despoiling invaders, held a council of war; in which it was finally resolved that the army should march without delay, and entering the Lacedæmonian territories lay waste the country, and endeavour to obtain possession of the capital. Accordingly, to facilitate this enterprise, the troops were formed in four divisions, and appointed to break into the province by different routes. All these (except the Arcadians who formed the fourth division) penetrated without meeting any opposition. Ischilas, however, who guarded the district of Seiritis, resolved to repel the invasion of the Arcadians, or to perish in the attempt. The example of Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, animated the breast of this valiant Spartan. He gave command to all the youth to quit the army; as he considered their lives too precious to be risked in an engagement, of which death could not fail of being the consequence. With the veteran soldiers of the army, he embraced the present opportunity of displaying his courage and patriotism. They sold their lives dearly to the enemy, many of whom perished in the contest; nor did the engagement terminate until the last Spartan was slain.

The confederate army, having assembled at an appointed place of rendezvous, marched towards Sparta, and laid waste the whole country.

For five hundred years, Laconia had not experienced a similar calamity and had been the boast of Agesilaus that no Spartan woman ever saw the smoke of an enemy's camp. The guards that defended the city were thrown into consternation and dismay; the women were terrified with the smoke and tumult of the invading army; and the Spartans in this emergency were obliged to arm all their peasants and slaves, whom they usually treated with great cruelty. Six thousand of these unhappy men were engaged by threats and promises to undertake the defence of their proud and inhuman masters. This measure, however, did not abate, but increase the general panic of the magistrates and citizens. They considered that the men they had just armed might probably join the enemy, and the destruction of the city thereby become inevitable. But a body of Corinthians, Phliasians, Epidaurians, and Pallenians, arriving soon after, to prevent the downfall of Sparta, though they had often opposed its despotism, the consternation in the city subsided.

These succours being received in Sparta, the people became elated; and the kings and magistrates could scarcely restrain them from rushing into the field, and giving the enemy battle. Agesilaus made use of this martial enthusiasm to repel the first assault of the Thebans; and to convince them that every succeeding attempt to make themselves masters of the city would be attended with such danger, fatigue, and loss of men, as the success of the enterprise could not compensate. The conduct of Agisilaus on this trying occasion has been greatly and justly extolled; he placed an ambush in the temple of the Tynda-

Tyndaridæ, and, by this means, defeated the intentions of the assailants. An insurrection of a very dangerous nature having appeared in the city, he displayed great presence of mind in appeasing it; and while he thus overcame by force or stratagem the domestic and foreign enemies of the state, he negociated the most powerful assistance from Athens, which sent twelve thousand men to the relief of the Spartan territory.

In the mean time, Epaminondas, having been repulsed from the capital, began to commit great and dreadful depredations in Laconia. He traversed and desolated the banks of the Eurotas, which abounded in all the conveniences of life; and then assaulted Helos and Gythium, and destroyed the villages by fire, and the inhabitants by the sword.

When Sparta had become the general arbiter of Greece, after the downfall of the Athenian greatness, the Messenians, whom the Athenians had settled in the territory of Naupactus, were the first that suffered under the oppressive conduct of that state, and were universally enslaved, banished, or put to death. Many of those unhappy men now flocked to the standard of Epaminondas, eager to retaliate the unrelenting persecution of a people suffering calamities equal to those they had so often inflicted on others.

Epaminondas rebuilt the city of Messene, and put the fugitives in possession of their territory. This act of the Theban general, which was not performed from any disinterested or generous motives, though at first view it might have that appearance, inflicted the most severe and cruel punishment on the Spartans. They beheld a nation which they had twice endeavoured to ex-

tirpate, revive and flourish in their neighbourhood. The discontented and factious subjects, and the slaves of Sparta, increased it by continual accessions; and the Theban garrison, together with their own personal enmity, induced the Messenians to watch every favourable opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on the enemy.

This enterprise was scarcely finished when Epaminondas was informed that the Athenians, under the command of Iphicrates, were in motion. The design in which they were embarked seemed to demand great celerity. Instead, however, of using expedition, the Athenian commander wasted several days at Corinth, without any apparent necessity, or even pretence for such an unseasonable and imprudent delay. His soldiers loudly complained of this conduct, and demanded to be led against Argos, or rather to attack the Theban army. Iphicrates, however, did not think proper to comply with either of these requests; but, marching into Arcadia, remained there until the enemy had withdrawn their troops out of Laconia.

The Thebans having evacuated the Lacedæmonian territory, the two hostile armies filed off, as by mutual consent, and returned to their respective cities by separate roads, without once endeavouring to interrupt the progress of each other. The Athenians blamed Iphicrates for permitting an enemy laden with plunder, and fatigued with the toil of a winter's campaign, to pass through the isthmus of Corinth; while Pelopidas and Epaminondas, having exceeded the term of their command, were accused and tried by the Theban assembly. The former displayed

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less courage than might have been expected from his general character: but Epaminondas evinced the superiority of a philosophical mind; and, instead of defending his cause, pronounced a panegyric on his conduct, in which he recounted, without amplification or diminution, the exploits he had performed. He concluded his speech by observing that, "secure as he was of immortal fame, earned in the service of his country, he could submit to suffer death without reluctance." This magnanimity awed his accusers. The indignation of the assembly subsided; the two generals were instantly acquitted; and the accusation of Epaminondas procured him as much glory as the battle of Leuctra.

The Lacedæmonians soon after dispatched an embassy to Athens, requesting that the bands of amity and union between the two republics might be strengthened, and the Athenians still continue their assistance. The Spartans acknowledged that the experience, the bravery, and the signal victories of that republic in naval engagements, justly entitled her to the dominion of the sea. Finding, however, that this concession did not produce the desired effect, they proposed that, when the two republics united their forces in any expedition, the army of the Lacedæmonians (a thing hitherto unexampled) should be entrusted, during half of the campaign, to the command of Athenian generals.—This proposal was agreed to, and an alliance of the most intimate kind was concluded between Sparta and Athens.

They also succeeded in procuring assistance from Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, and from the Persian monarch. The former, being of Do-

rian extraction, naturally commiserated the humiliation and distress of a people, who had so long been the friends and ornament of the Dorian race. And the latter acted upon the principles of assisting the weaker party, that he might with greater ease rule the whole.

While the Lacedæmonians were gaining strength by these important alliances, the Arcadians had commenced hostilities: and laying waste the territory of Pallene, that had ever been faithful to Sparta, burnt the villages, stormed the city, and put the garrison, which consisted partly of Lacedæmonians, to the sword. The Theban general also marched his army southward; but the Lacedæmonians, having obtained reinforcements from Dionysius and the Athenians, endeavoured to stop his progress through the isthmus, by fortifying it. Epaminondas, however, broke through, took Sicyon, and assaulted Corinth; but Chabrias the Athenian general, who happened at this time to be possessed of the alternate command, attacked the Thebans, and repulsed them with great loss. Epaminondas, therefore, returned home, where he was blamed and disgraced for his conduct.

The retreat of the Thebans conferred splendour on the Arcadian arms; and inspired Lycomedes their general with ambitious designs, which he communicated to his countrymen.

By his suggestions they were induced to possess themselves of all the places they had taken from the enemy, and to complete their conquests in Peloponnesus.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians under the command of Archidamus had taken the field. The rapidity of success that attended this general,

general, who was the son of the renowned Agesilaus, confirmed the prudence and foresight of the magistrates and people, in electing him commander of the army. He had regained many of the towns in Laconia; and, having entered Arcadia, laid it waste, and prepared to attack the populous city of Parrhasia. But the Arcadians, reinforced by the Argives, making their appearance, he withdrew his troops toward the obscure village of Midea. When the Lacedæmonian general beheld the enemy prepared for an engagement, he commanded the Spartans to form in order of battle, and exhorted them to strive, by one glorious effort, to regain their ancient and hereditary renown.

While he thus spoke, it thundered on the right, though the air was clear and serene — The soldiers looked from whence the noise came; and beheld in a consecrated grove an altar and statue of Hercules, the great progenitor of Archidamus and of Sparta. They hailed the happy omens; and, animated by these concurring circumstances, were transported with an enthusiasm of valour, and attacked the enemy with great impetuosity. The Arcadians, who expected they had to contend with a vanquished and spiritless adversary, were astonished at their manner of making the assault. Few of the Arcadians waited to receive the attack; but they who did were totally destroyed. The rest took to flight, but in the pursuit many thousands of them perished; while the Spartans, it is said, did not lose a man. Archidamus sent a messenger to Sparta, with the news of the battle, and erected his trophy. An assembly of the people was held, when he made known the intelligence.

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The aged Agesilaus wept for joy at the tidings; the sympathetic emotions were communicated to the ephori and senators; the amiable contagion was spread throughout all Sparta; and dissolved the sternest of the people into softness and sensibility.—B. C. 367.

CHAPTER XIV.

Affairs of Greece from the Battle of Midea to the Conclusion of the Social War.

AFTER the daring murder of Jason, the tyrant * of Thessaly, his brothers Polydore and Polyphron succeeded to the throne. The latter, ambitious of reigning singly, and not able to endure a rival, assassinated his colleague, and obtained the sole dominion of Thessaly. His stern despotism, however, was abolished by the hand of Alexander; who avenged the blood of his kinsman Polydore. This is said to have been the only meritorious action of his life; for authors represent Alexander as one of the most cruel and detested tyrants that have ever been condemned to infamy by history. He treated his subjects with the greatest inhumanity; was perfidious to his allies, implacable to his enemies, a robber

* The word tyrant, in Grecian history, is applied to those who acquired sovereignty in states formerly republican. Thessaly, Sicily, Corinth, &c. were governed not by kings, but tyrants. Whereas Macedonia, that had never been subject to any popular form of government, was ruled not by tyrants, but kings.

a robber by land, and a pirate at sea. Having, by his cruelties, provoked the indignation and vengeance of his subjects, they took up arms, and solicited the assistance of Thebes. Accordingly, a Theban army marched into Thessaly, under the command of Pelopidas and Ismenias; who compelled the tyrant to submit his cause to their determination, and to agree to whatever conditions they might think proper to exact for the future security of his subjects.

This transaction was scarcely finished when the Thebans were invited into Macedonia, to settle some differences that had arisen in that kingdom. After the death of Amyntas the second, his son Alexander succeeded to the throne. Amyntas had left two other legitimate sons, Perdiccas and Philip; and a natural son named Ptolemy. Though Ptolemy could not prevent the accession of Alexander to the throne, he embittered and shortened his reign, which lasted only one year. Ptolemy then took upon himself the guardianship of Perdiccas, during his minority, and assumed the reins of government as protector of Macedon. It soon, however, appeared that he was not satisfied with the power of regent. He contrived to win over great numbers to his interest; and, baffling the opposition of the friends of Perdiccas, usurped the sovereignty. In this emergency, the partisans of the unfortunate prince requested the interference of Thebes. Pelopidas, therefore, marched an army into Macedonia, released the numerous exiles whom Ptolemy had driven into banishment, asserted the just rights of Perdiccas, and, having received hostages from the contending

contending factions and restored the tranquillity of the kingdom, returned towards Thessaly.

B. C. 367. While Pelopidas marched through Thessaly without using sufficient caution, having sent before him a considerable detachment of his army to guard the Macedonian hostages, he was informed that Alexander had come to meet him with his mercenary troops. This suspicious circumstance did not undeceive the too credulous Theban; who imputed the march of Alexander's soldiers to the respect that he desired to shew him. With great imprudence, therefore, Pelopidas and Ismenias put themselves into the power of a man who regarded no laws, human or divine. He commanded them to be seized, bound, and carried into Pheræ; where they were imprisoned, and exposed to the view of an invidious and insulting multitude.

When the Theban chief was seized by the treachery of Alexander, it might have been expected that the soldiers, animated with indignation and rage, would have attempted his rescue. Their numbers, however, were too small to ensure success. Reinforcements soon arrived from Bœotia; but they fatally experienced, in the rencounters that took place, the absence of Pelopidas and the degradation of Epaminondas. The army was reduced to very great difficulties; unable to fight the enemy, and unwilling to fly from them. The soldiers, remembering their exploits in Peloponnesus, and the still more formidable hostile army over which they had obtained victory, justly blamed the inexperience and inability of their commanders. Epaminondas, who at this time, served as a private soldier, was

was appointed general, by the unanimous consent of the troops. The face of affairs was soon changed by the abilities of this extraordinary man; and the forces of the tyrant were defeated, and compelled to retire. The Theban general, however, afraid of the lives of Pelopidas and Ismenias, would not drive him to extremities. He hovered about him with his victorious army, and displayed the superiority of military skill and conduct; and, while he endeavoured to intimidate the tyrant, left him sufficient time for repentance and submission. This judicious plan succeeded according to his wishes; and Alexander was glad to accept of a truce for 30 days, on condition of restoring Pelopidas and Ismenias.

While Thebes employed her arms in the north, the Spartans had been enabled in some measure to regain their influence in the south part of Greece. Archimadus, the son of Agesilaus had, as we mentioned before, obtained a very signal victory over the Arcadians, who were reckoned the most powerful and warlike of all the confederate states. The Lacedæmonians sent the crafty Antalcidas, and Euthycles, a Spartan of great abilities and intrigue, as ambassadors to the court of Persia. Their object was to hasten the supplies of troops and money, which Artaxerxes had promised. In the mean while the Thebans, understanding that Sparta had sent an embassy to the Persian monarch, thought it time to assert their independence, and to counteract the machinations and designs of their enemies with the court of Suza. Epaminondas, whose recent conduct had gained him great reputation, and silenced the clamours of faction, was recommended again to the command

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of the army, and Pelopidas, whose unfortunate detention was ascribed more to the treacherous behaviour of Alexander than to his own imprudence, was sent as minister to the east, to carry on negociations with Artaxerxes.

The confederates of Thebes, also, were invited so send deputies to the Persian court, to promote the interests of their respective states. This measure was readily adopted; and the Eleans, Arcadians and Argives, sent a deputation, in conjunction with the Theban ambassador. The Athenians also, apprised of what was designed, dispatched ministers to manage the interests of their republic. By these means, a congress of the several Grecian states was held in Asia; where it was proposed to settle and adjust their differences at the court, and by the intervention, of a foreign prince. But when Pelopidas, who had been sent as deputy from Thebes, mentioned as one of the articles that the Athenians should be commanded to lay up their fleet, Leon, the Athenian deputy, exclaimed, with a freedom peculiar to his country, "The Athenians must then seek some other ally, instead of the Persian king." On this the ambassadors took their leave, and departed.

Pelopidas was accompanied into Greece by a Persian of distinction, appointed by the king to carry the treaty into effect. When they arrived at Thebes, that republic sent orders to all the deputies of the other Grecian states to give their attendance. Athens, and Sparta, however, did not condescend to obey the summons; but the congress was, nevertheless, very numerous. But here again Lycomedes, the representative of Arcadia, who had now conceived a just opinion of

of the real insignificance of Persian ostentation, declared that Arcadia needed not the alliance of Artaxerxes; and that Thebes was a very improper place to hold the convention, since a congress for a general peace ought to assemble in the country that had been the scene of warfare.

The magistrates of Thebes beheld with disappointment and indignation this conduct of their Arcadian friends and of the other states. They accused Lycomedes as a traitor to Thebes, and an enemy to the real interests of his country. He, however, deigned not an answer to these vain and empty clamours; but quitted the assembly, and was followed by the other deputies of Arcadia. The Corinthians, also, openly declared that they saw no occasion for entering into the treaty with Persia. The Thebans therefore were obliged to dissolve the assembly, without having obtained any thing favourable to their interests; but they attempted, by private conferences, to court some and awe others of the Grecian states to enter into their measures. This, however, had no other effect than to make the several communities of Greece resolve to oppose, by all the means in their power, the increasing authority of Thebes, and to defeat the views and designs of that ambitious republic.

Epaminondas advised his countrymen to attempt by force of arms what they could not obtain by negotiation. The recent renown he had lately acquired in Thessaly, added to the fame of his former exploits, conduced to render his counsel popular and irresistible. The Thebans therefore entrusted him with the command of an army, with which he again marched into Peloponnesus. He knew that the Elians and

Arcadians, though hostile to each other, were alike disposed to rebel against Thebes. Instead, however, of entering their territories, and carrying the war against them, which might have compelled them to settle their differences amicably, and to unite under the Theban standard against the common enemy, Epaminondas endeavoured to extinguish their disaffection by the conquest of Achaia, a province stretching along the Corinthian gulf, and skirting the northern frontiers of Elis and Arcadia. The nature of the Achæan government had been productive of peace and tranquillity to themselves and their neighbours. They possessed not any large and populous towns, whose inhabitants might be roused to arms and ambition, and the whole province thereby engaged in a destructive war. The cities of Phlius and Sicyon, which were situated towards the east and the isthmus of Corinth, had long been regarded as separate and independent republics of the Achæan nation.

Immediately before the Theban invasion, the constitution of Achaia had undergone a manifest change. Aritocracy had prevailed, and acquired an undue ascendancy. No sooner therefore was it announced that Epaminondas, with a Theban army, had entered the frontiers of their territory, than the magistrates and principal persons flocked from all quarters of the province to meet the invading troops. Not at all anxious about the liberty and independence of Achaia, provided they retained their personal privileges and private fortunes, they solicited by presents the favour and friendship of the Theban commander. The people, perceiving themselves abandoned and betrayed by those who ought to

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have been their guardians and protectors, gave up all thoughts of resisting the enemy. The submission of the magistrates was accepted by Epaminondas; who received from them pledges of their engagement, that thenceforth Achaia should be dependent on Thebes, and follow the fortunes of that republic both in peace and war.

This conquest, which was effected without striking a blow, was productive of destructive and sanguinary consequences. Epaminondas returned with his army to Thebes; but the Arcadians and Argives had procured several complaints to be made against his conduct in the Theban assembly. Recent experience, it was said, ought to have made him remember the inconveniencies attending an aristocratical form of government in a neighbouring and dependent state. These factious disturbances were secretly encouraged by the emissaries of democracy in Achaia. The enemies of the illustrious Theban were eager to seize so favourable an opportunity of accusing and calumniating him. The Thebans, therefore, were instigated to disapprove the proceedings of their general; and commissioners were sent to overturn the aristocracy, and to re-establish the democratical form of government. Accordingly, the nobles were banished, or put to death; but, when the Theban forces were withdrawn from Achaia, the exiles returned, as by mutual consent. Being numerous and powerful, they recovered, after a bloody and desperate struggle, their ancient influence over their respective cities. The partisans of democracy were expelled, or put to death; and the successful party, sensible how dangerous it was to depend for assistance on the Theban republic,

applied to Sparta for protection. This was accordingly granted; and while the Achæans ravaged the northern, their allies of Lacedæmon infested the southern frontier of Arcadia.

In the mean time, the war was carried on very feebly by both sides. The Athenians and Arcadians, being disgusted with the conduct of their respective allies, concluded a treaty of peace and mutual defence between the two republics. The chief promoter of this measure was Lycomedes, the Arcadian general, who was soon after slain on his return from Athens, by a party of Arcadian exiles. This negotiation gave great alarm to the rest of the Grecian states, when it was considered that the Arcadians, being the allies of Thebes, the united strength of these three republics was, at that time, sufficient to subdue and enslave all Greece. This terror was still more increased, when it was known that Athens refused to give up those places, in the territory of Corinth, which they had only undertaken to defend against the Thebans and Arcadians.—The Corinthians, however, contrived, without proceeding to an open rupture, to procure the evacuation of the cities garrisoned by the Athenians.

During five years, the Phliasians had given such illustrious proofs of their fidelity and attachment to Sparta as can scarcely be equalled in the history of any nation. Situated in the midst of their enemies, they had ever since the battle of Leuctra suffered the invasions and assaults of the Thebans, Arcadians, and Argives. The enemy had wasted their territory, besieged their city, and more than once made themselves masters of the citadel: the whole of their wealth, public

public as well as private, was exhausted; and they could only subsist on the precarious supply of provisions brought from Corinth, for the payment of which they had been obliged to pledge their beasts of burthen. Nevertheless, under the pressure of these multiplied calamities, their fidelity was unshaken: they had refused to conclude a peace with Thebes, because that republic required them to forsake Sparta; and when, at last, by the apparent defection of Corinth, Phlius seemed to be deprived of the only source of subsistence, the Phliasians determined, with the permission of Sparta, to negotiate with Thebes for neutrality alone.

An embassy, therefore, was sent to Sparta, requesting that the Spartans would accept the terms of peace lately offered them by Thebes; or, if they deemed it inconsistent with their honour to resign their pretensions to the territory of Messene, they would at least permit their faithful, helpless, and suffering allies to enter into a separate negotiation with the Theban republic.

But the pretensions of the Spartans seem to have risen in proportion as they became more unable to support them. On that particular occasion, Archidamus increased the proud obstinacy natural to that extraordinary people, by an animated speech. The speech accorded with the sentiments of the people. The allies were dismissed, with leave to act as seemed to suit best their inclinations and interests; with assurances that Sparta would never agree to any accommodation so long as Messene was unjustly detained from them. Ambassadors were there-

fore sent to Thebes, from Corinth, Phlius, and Achaia, who obtained the desired neutrality.

It is very probable that Sparta, thus deserted by all her allies, must in a little time have fallen the victim of her pride and obstinacy, had not circumstances, unforeseen by Archidamus, favoured that republic. Epaminondas was not satisfied with the power which Thebes had obtained by land, but he endeavoured also to make her mistress of the sea. The vigilance of Athens, however, defeated his purpose. At this time the arms of Thebes were summoned to a service which more immediately concerned their interest and their honour.

Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, began to display once more the resources of his fertile genius, and the inhumanity and cruelty of his disposition. He had collected a numerous army of mercenary troops, which he maintained with great address; and, Athens having granted him assistance, all the principal cities of Thessaly fell into his hands. The oppressed Thessalians again implored the protection of the Thebans, whose powerful assistance they had, on a former occasion, so happily experienced, and whose standard they had so unanimously and gratefully followed. The Thebans, therefore, sent an army of ten thousand men, under the command of Pelopidas, the personal enemy of Alexander; but it happened that, while he was on his march, the day was darkened by an eclipse of the sun. The soldiers, alarmed at this phenomenon, became greatly dispirited, and many of them refused to proceed.

Pelopidas, unwilling to compel his troops to perform

perform any reluctant service, permitted those who wished it to return; while the soldiers that despised vain omens desired to follow their beloved general, who conducted them into Thessaly. Their allies having joined them near the town of Pharsalus, they encamped together at the foot of the mountains of Cynoscephalæ. An engagement was immediately offered by the enemy, who were twenty thousand strong; and Pelopidas, though his army was greatly inferior in numbers, did not decline the battle. At the first onset, the Theban cavalry had the advantage; but the infantry of the enemy, having gained the higher ground, pressed the Thebans and Thessalians with great vigour. In this emergency, Pelopidas rode up to encourage the troops, whom he led forward against the enemy animated with fresh spirits. From the courage with which the Thebans returned to the charge, Alexander concluded that they had received reinforcements; and the mercenaries were immediately thrown into confusion.

Pelopidas, perceiving Alexander as he was endeavouring to rally his disordered troops, advanced, and challenged him to single combat; but, instead of accepting the offer, he retired behind his guards, whom the Theban general attacked with fury. Whilst he thus, with more courage than discretion, exposed his person, he was desperately wounded by a javelin, and afterwards dispatched by the spears of the enemy. In the mean time, his troops, advancing to the relief of their general, repelled the guards of the tyrant. The Thebans and their allies gained a complete victory, and pursued the enemy, who lost three thousand men.

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The death of the general, however, cast a gloom over the victory. The Thebans and Thessalians lamented him with immoderate demonstrations of sorrow. His body was carried to Thebes to be buried, attended by an innumerable company of sincere mourners. The Thessalians, considering themselves as the greatest sufferers by his death, requested permission to defray the expences of his funeral. This was granted; and the burial of Pelopidas performed with great magnificence. The tyrant was soon after defeated again, and deprived of all his conquests. He was, however, permitted to reign at Pheræ; but the other cities entered into an alliance with Thebes.

During the absence of Epaminondas with the Theban fleet, and of Pelopidas in Thessaly, the Orchomenians were excited by some fugitives from Thebes to attempt overturning the democracy, and establishing an aristocratical form of government in that state. The design was to have been put in execution at the annual review of the Orchomenian troops. It was, however, timely discovered by the vigilance of the Theban magistrates; and the cavalry of Orchomenus, to the number of three hundred, were surrounded and cut to pieces in the market-place at Thebes. Nor did this vengeance satisfy the enraged populace; a powerful body of forces was sent against Orchomenus, who besieged and took the city, razed it to the ground, put all the men to the sword, and carried the women and children into captivity.

All this time, the Thebans endeavoured to improve every circumstance that happened to their own advantage. The Arcadians, having

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attacked the territory of Elis, and made themselves masters of the sacred city of Olympia, in which was situated the temple of Jupiter, seized the immense treasure which during many centuries had been deposited there, and divided it among themselves. The Elians implored the assistance of the Thebans; who, being glad at an occasion of interference, ordered the Arcadians to restore Olympia; but this being refused (as had been expected) the Thebans prepared to enforce their commands by arms. The Arcadians, on the other hand, appealed successfully to Athens and Sparta against the growing ambition and insolence of Thebes; and thus Greece was once more involved in a general war.

Epaminondas now entered the Peloponnesus, and marched to the very gates of Sparta. —Agesilaus, however, attacked the invaders with great bravery; while his son, Archidamus, with scarcely an hundred men, opposed the progress of the enemy who had penetrated into the city, cut down the first ranks, and advanced to assault the rest.

Though the Thebans were thus repulsed, and this promising enterprise defeated, Epaminondas did not sink under his disappointment. Considering that the whole of the force which had assembled at Mantinæa might probably be withdrawn from that city in order to defend Sparta, he marched his troops back to Tegæa with all expedition; and, allowing his infantry some rest and refreshment, sent the cavalry forward to Mantinæa, giving them orders to maintain their ground until he arrived to their assistance with the main body of the Theban troops. He expected

pected they would have found the city wholly unprepared; but, though this plan was also well concerted, it nevertheless failed in the execution. Before the Theban cavalry arrived at the place of their destination, a numerous and powerful squadron of Athenian horse entered Mantinæa, ignorant that Sparta had been attacked, and that the allies had departed to protect that city. They had scarcely entered the place, however, when the Theban cavalry appeared; who, advancing with great rapidity, seemed eager to effect the object of their expedition. The Athenians had received no refreshment that day; the enemy were superior in number, and they were not ignorant of the bravery of the Theban and Thessalian cavalry: but nothing could subdue their resolution. Regardless of every consideration but the safety and interest of their allies, they rushed into the field, attacked and repulsed the enemy, and, after a fierce and bloody battle, which fully displayed the courage of both parties, the Athenians gained a complete victory. The conquerors erected a trophy, and the Thebans were under the necessity of craving the bodies of their dead.

Epaminondas, who had never before experienced such defeats, grew chagrined at his misfortunes, and feared lest his reputation should suffer, and the glory of his former exploits be tarnished. What added to his present difficulties was that the term of his command was nearly expired; and he had scarcely sufficient time for retrieving the ill state of his affairs, and achieving something worthy of himself. He therefore determined to attempt a general engagement; in which he might either obliterate

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the remembrance of his late disgrace, or, in fighting to render Thebes the sovereign of Greece, obtain an honourable death.

The confederates had followed the Thebans very closely from Sparta; and, having re-assembled at Mantinæa, had received considerable reinforcements. Fresh succours had also arrived at the Theban camp. The Greeks had never fought among themselves with more numerous armies; but battles became interesting not so much by the numbers of the combatants as by the conduct of the general. Xenophon says it is worthy of observation to notice the military operations of Epaminondas on this memorable occasion. Having formed his men into battalions, he marched them in the same order in which he intended them to fight: he did not lead them directly towards Mantinæa; but, turning to the left, conducted them along a chain of hills between that city and Tegæa, and which skirted the eastern extremity of both. The enemy, seeing the movement of the Thebans, drew out their forces before Mantinæa. The Lacedæmonians, and such Arcadians as had proved themselves the most honourable, had the right; the Athenians the left wing; and the Eleans (who had now joined the confederates) and Achæans were placed in the centre.

In the mean time the Theban commander marched his troops slowly forward, and seemed to extend his circuit, that he might induce the enemy to believe he did not intend to fight that day. When his forces had reached that part of the mountain which was opposite to the enemy, he commanded his men to halt, and to lay down their

their arms.' His movements had, at first, created much doubt and perplexity in the minds of the enemy; but they were now satisfied that he intended to decline the engagement for the present, and to encamp where he had halted. They therefore abandoned their arms and their ranks; dispersed themselves about the camp, and lost not only the external arrangement but that internal preparation, that martial ardour of mind which is necessary in the moment of battle, and ought to animate soldiers at the near prospect of an engagement.

Epaminondas, perceiving the situation of the enemy, embraced the opportunity so favourable for attacking them. Commanding his men to face about, he converted the order of march into an order of battle; and by this means his troops were instantly formed, and ready to engage.—The progress of the battle that ensued was such as evinced the excellence of his arrangement and dispositions of his forces.

Having, however, exposed himself too much at the head of the army, he was wounded by a javelin across the cuirass. The wood of the instrument being broken off, the steel remained in the wound, and he immediately fell. He was then carried to the watch tower, where he might observe the subsequent operations of the army; but with the departure of their leader, the spirit which had hitherto animated the Thebans seemed also withdrawn. They had bravely broken through the hostile battalions, but knew not how to profit of the advantage they had gained. The two contending armies prevailed in partial rencounters, and in different parts of the field: confusion and terror were every where visible;

visible; the Theban and Thessalian cavalry having routed the Athenian horse pursued them; and the infantry, which had been placed in the intervals of the ranks, were left behind. Upon this, the Athenians commanded by Hegilochus, finding that the enemy had quitted the pursuit, and had directed their attention to another object, returned to the charge, and cut to pieces the body of light infantry.

Elated with their success, the Athenian cavalry then turned their arms against a detachment which Epaminondas had placed upon a rising ground, for the purpose of taking the enemy in flank and rear, if they advanced from their post. These troops, which consisted chiefly of Eubœans, were routed and put to flight, after a terrible slaughter. Upon these different movements and alternations of victory and defeat, the trumpets of the two armies, as if by mutual consent, sounded a retreat at the same time. Each party claimed the victory, and erected a trophy; and both for some time refused to crave their dead. At length, however, the Lacedæmonians dispatched a herald to perform this office; and the Thebans were thereby acknowledged the conquerors. This battle, as it was the greatest, was expected to have proved the most decisive of any ever fought among the Greeks; but the consequences of so severe and bloody an engagement were only a general languor and debility, long observable in the subsequent operations of those hostile republics. B. C. 362.

After the termination of the contest, the principal persons of the Theban army assembled round the body of the dying general. The surgeons

geons who attended him, having examined the wound, declared that he could not survive the extraction of the weapon. He then enquired whether his shield was safe; which, being brought to him, he received with evident demonstrations of joy. He next demanded what had been the event of the battle? and was answered that the Thebans had been victorious. Upon which he observed, "Then I die contented; since Thebes is triumphant, and Sparta humbled." Having thus spoken, he commanded the weapon to be extracted, and died immediately.

After the battle of Mantinæa, Artaxerxes, who was in want of Grecian auxiliaries for quelling the insurrections that had broken out in Egypt and Asia Minor, proposed a general peace among the several communities of Greece. By the conditions of this treaty, it was stipulated that each republic should have its respective possessions restored. The Spartans, however, determined to reject all overtures for an accommodation, unless Messene should be again annexed to their commonwealth; but, as the Persian monarch was ever averse from granting this demand, the Spartans transported forces into Egypt to foment the defection of that province. The Lacedæmonian army amounted to ten thousand heavy-armed men, and as great a number of mercenaries; and were commanded by Agesilaus in person. He joined his forces with those of Tachos, king of Egypt; but a difference happening between them Agesilaus deserted the cause of this prince, and declared for Nectanebis, whom he placed on the throne of that kingdom. In this dishonourable employment the Spartan king amassed great wealth, with which

which he probably expected to retrieve the affairs of his country. But in his return to Sparta he died at Cyrenaica, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and the forty-first of his reign.

The struggles for dominion which had long exercised and weakened the communities of Thebes and Sparta, were terminated by the battle of Mantinæa. Their ablest generals, and most warlike youth, were now no more. No Theban patriot arose to prosecute the magnanimous views of Epaminondas, and to complete his successful attempts. B. C. 361.

After the death of Agesilaus, his son Archidamus succeeded to the Spartan throne. Great expectations had been formed of this prince during the life of his father; but he very imperfectly justified the high opinion that had been conceived of his early wisdom and valour. Exhausted by the war, which had continued so long without producing any beneficial consequences, the two rival states sunk into such a degree of weakness that the pretensions of their neighbours, which had long lain dormant, were revived. While Athens had the superiority of Greece, the council of the Amphictyons greatly degenerated from the virtues for which it had formerly been remarkable; and the majesty of that assembly became nothing more than an empty pageant. These degenerate principles, however, were not extirpated by the downfal of the Athenian greatness. During the ascendency of Sparta and Thebes, the same degeneracy of morals still prevailed in the camp.

Timotheus, Chabrias, and Iphicrates, the

Athenian commanders, had reduced several places on both shores from the Thracian Bosphorus to Rhodes. These men, since the death of Agesilaus and Epaminondas, were far superior in abilities and virtue to any of the contemporary generals in the other states. The Cyclades, and Corcyra, had sent to court the favour of a republic, whose influence enabled her to interrupt or forward their navigation, and to encourage or destroy their commerce. The populous and wealthy city of Byzantium had entered into an alliance with the Athenians; and they had reason to hope that Amphipolis would soon become subject to them. These multiplied (and, not long before, unexpected) advantages were the means of once more reviving the ancient but decayed grandeur of the Athenian state. Athens again obtained the sovereignty of the sea; for, by great exertions, that state had equipped a fleet of three hundred sail, and the best half of her citizens and subjects were employed in navigating ships of war or of commerce.

Though the Athenians were sometimes directed by persons of integrity and virtue, of patriotism and magnanimity, they too often listened to the counsels of many whose characters were the reverse; for he who could best offer the incense of adulation, and deceive the people, was most certain of their confidence and esteem. Such qualifications as these enabled the turbulent, licentious, and dissolute demagogues, and in a word, the orators who most resembled the audience, generally to prevail in the popular assembly. The reward which real merit deserved

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was carried off by specious and even noxious abilities.

With principles and manners like these, it was no very difficult task for a daring and profligate leader to involve the Athenians in designs the most extravagant, dangerous, and unjust. Chares was a person every way qualified and proper for an undertaking of this nature. He had a martial appearance, was blunt in his address, of great valour, but of a selfish and ambitious disposition. He was of a gigantic stature, and robust in his person; his voice was commanding, and his manners haughty. He asserted positively, and promised boldly; and his presumption is said to have been so great that it concealed his incapacity and defect of knowledge, not only from others but even from himself. Though Chares was an enterprising and successful partisan, he was extremely deficient in the great duties of a general. His imperfections appear more striking and palpable when we compare his abilities and conduct with those of Timotheus and Iphicrates, his contemporaries.

These two Athenian commanders prevailed by address as much as by force. They secured their conquests to the republic by the wisdom, moderation, and justice with which they had been acquired, and with which they still continued to be governed. Chares proposed a very different mode of administration: he advised his countrymen to plunder the wealth of their colonies and allies, that they might supply the defects of their treasury, and purchase those pleasures which they considered as essential to

their happiness. This counsel was too pleasing not to be faithfully obeyed. The vexations anciently exercised against the allied and dependent states were again renewed; and, if possible, exceeded. Those whose weakness left them no other resource than complaints, for avenging their injuries, preferred many remonstrances against Athenian rapacity and oppression; but the larger and more populous islands of Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, together with the city of Byzantium, made preparations for revolting, and mutually engaged to assist one another in procuring liberty and independence.

Chares, who was the adviser, and probably also the chief instrument, of those measures which occasioned the revolt, was ordered with a numerous army against Chios; while a powerful fleet, under the command of Chabrias, was also commanded to be prepared for the same station. Accordingly, the troops being put on board, the armament sailed toward that island, with an intention of seizing the capital. The confederate revolters, informed of the preparations making against Chios, had already drawn all their forces thither. The island was besieged by sea and land; but was defended with great bravery. Chares found it difficult to repel or withstand the sallies of the enemy: and Chabrias endeavoured to enter the harbour with his fleet; but his own ship was the only one that penetrated thus far. Chabrias was immediately surrounded: he might, however, have saved himself by swimming to the Athenian fleet, as many of his companions did; but, through a sense of honour, this

B. C. 358.

this gallant commander would not forsake the vessel intrusted to him by the republic. He therefore preferred an honourable death to a disgraceful life; and was slain by the Chians, fighting bravely.

The confederates, encouraged by this first onset against an enemy that had affected to despise them, increased their fleet, and ravaged the isles of Lemnos and Samos. The Athenians, indignant at their conduct, and displeased that the territories of their faithful allies should fall a prey to the depredations of rebels, fitted out another squadron early the next year; and gave the command of it to Mnesthius, the son of Iphicrates, and son-in-law of Timotheus. They hoped that the new commander would respectfully listen to the advice of those great men, who were perhaps averse from acting any principal part in an expedition where Chares possessed a share of authority. The two Athenian armaments united in the Hellespont, whither Chares had sailed, after raising the siege of Chios. The fleet now amounted to one hundred and twenty sail; and, that they might constrain the enemy to abandon their designs against Lemnos and Samos, the Athenian commanders immediately directed their course towards Byzantium, to which city they purposed to lay siege. This expedient was successful: the allies from those islands collected their whole naval strength, and with all their force bore away for Byzantium.

The two fleets, now in sight of each other, prepared to engage: in the mean time, however, a sudden and violent storm arose, which rendered it impossible for the Athenian armament

ment to bear up to the enemy, or even to continue at sea, without being exposed to the danger of shipwreck. Chares alone demanded that the fleet should sail, and engage the enemy. The other commanders, who had more prudence and experience, perceived the disadvantage, and declined the unequal danger. His impetuosity being overruled by the opinion of his colleagues, Chares became enraged and furious: he called the soldiers and sailors to witness their opposition, and that he was not culpable for the inactivity of the fleet. He therefore took the first opportunity of sending messengers to Athens, who accused his colleagues of incapacity, cowardice, and total want of duty; and this accusation was supported by venal orators in his pay.

Timotheus and Iphicrates were accordingly tried for their lives. Through the timidity of the magistrates, they were not condemned to death, as had been expected; but had a large pecuniary fine imposed on them, which no Athenian citizen could at that time pay. Those illustrious and unfortunate commanders were therefore compelled to go into banishment.

Timotheus went first to Chalcis in Eubœa, and then to the isle of Lemnos, both which places his valour and abilities had recovered for his ungrateful country. Iphicrates, having formerly married the daughter of Cotys a very considerable prince of Thessaly, travelled into that country, and there resided in obscurity. Both these illustrious characters died in banishment. The social war, therefore, destroyed or removed three of the best generals that Greece possessed; and if

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we except the brave and honest Phocion, the last venerable remains of Athenian virtue.

By the removal of Iphicrates and Timotheus from the command, Chares found himself at liberty to act in any manner he should think proper, without the controul of superior councils. Had he been a person of abilities, and sufficiently virtuous to have withstood the corruption and bribery of Artabazus the wealthy satrap of Ionia, he might have advanced, in a very considerable degree, the interest and power of Athens in the Hellespont. But his insatiable avarice had rendered him obnoxious to many of the Athenians; and his want of capacity and care as a general made him become the contempt and ridicule of the allies. He neglected the discipline of his army almost totally: and never thought of reducing the rebels; but passed his time in the company of singers, dancers, and harlots, whose luxury and extravagance consumed the greatest part of the supplies raised for the exigency of the war.

Artabazus, having revolted from the allegiance of Artaxerxes Ochus, the most detestable tyrant that ever disgraced the throne of Persia, sought, by the promise of large sums of money, the assistance and protection of the Athenian chief. Chares, therefore, that he might satisfy the clamours of the soldiers, and without regarding the treaties subsisting between Persia and Athens, marched his army to co-operate with the troops of the Persian rebel; whom he effectually relieved, and received a reward suitable to his services. The Athenians, as soon as they received the intelligence that Chares had obtained

obtained a signal victory over the troops of Artaxerxes, gave great demonstrations of joy, and extolled the general as the greatest of patriots.

But a messenger soon after arriving from the Persian monarch, their false joy immediately vanished. This ambassador complained loudly of the infraction of peace between the two countries; and threatened the Athenians that, if they did not instantly withdraw their troops from Asia, the allies should be assisted by Artaxerxes with a fleet of three hundred sail. This just menace, the want of successful operations against the confederates, and a still more important reason, which will remain to be explained hereafter, obliged the Athenians to recall their troops from Asia, and to conclude a treaty of peace with the allies, without having realized one object for which the war had been expressly undertaken. The confederates made good their claims to liberty and independence: and continued for twenty years free from the oppressions of subsidies and contingents; until they submitted, with the rest of Greece, to the intrigues and arms of Philip, and to the irresistible power of the Macedonians.

B.C. 356.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Affairs of Greece and Macedonia, from the Conclusion of the Social War, until the Birth of Alexander.

IT has been already observed, in the former part of this history, that Caranus founded the kingdom of Macedonia. He was an Argive by birth, a descendant of Hercules; and, eluding the dangers that proved fatal to royalty in the several communities of Greece, conducted thither a colony of his warlike and enterprizing countrymen. Having conquered the barbarous natives, he settled in Edessa, at that time the capital of Emathia, since called Macedonia. The gods, it is said, had the protection of the kingdom of Macedonia: and, directed by the oracles, Caranus followed a herd of goats to his new capital of Edessa; which for that reason he called Ægæ, or the city of the goats. This fiction would be very unworthy of narration did it not explain the reason why goats were used as the ensigns of Macedonia, and why the coins of Philip and of his successors were struck with the figures of this animal. B. C. 795.

This small principality, which afterwards grew into so powerful a kingdom under the reign of Philip, and became under that of his son Alexander the most extensive empire known in the ancient world, was bounded on the east by the Ægean sea, on the south by Thessaly and Epirus, on the west by the Adriatic or Ionian

Ionian sea, and on the north by the river Strymon and the Scardian mountains. The circumference of this territory did not at first exceed three miles.

Caranus, and the princes Cænus and Thyrimas, who immediately succeeded him, had more frequent occasion to use their prudence than their valour. The Grecian colony might, in its infant state, have fallen an easy prey to its barbarous and warlike neighbours, by whom it was every way surrounded; but its first kings, instead of attempting to repel or subdue by force of arms, endeavoured rather to gain and secure by good offices the kindness of the inhabitants of Emathia, and of the neighbouring districts. They are said to have communicated to those people the knowledge of the useful arts, and the religion and government of the Greeks, in all that happy state of simplicity which prevailed during the heroic ages; and while they themselves, in some degree, adopted the language and manners of the barbarian natives, they also imparted to the latter a tincture of the language and the civility of Greece. It is very probable, therefore, that this liberal and enlightened policy, so unlike the conduct of the other Grecian colonies and states, laid the foundation of that greatness and power which Macedonia afterward acquired.

B. C. 691. Perdiccas, the first monarch of that name, was a person of great abilities, and of an enterprising spirit. He extended his dominion so much, and his fame so far eclipsed that of his predecessors, that Herodotus and Thucydides have reckoned him the founder of the Macedonian monarchy. His actions have been greatly magnified by fable: which has

has happened also to those of the five succeeding kings. It is not till we arrive at the reign of Alexander the first, who filled the Macedonian throne during the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, that we attain historical correctness. Alexander took an important and honourable part in the Persian invasion; but he did not neglect the affairs of Macedonia. He extended the boundaries of that kingdom to the river Nessus on the east, and to the Axius on the west. B. C. 481.

Perdiccas the second, the son of Alexander, succeeded to the throne of his father. In the beginning of his reign, he discovered such prudence and penetration that he seemed to inherit his father's abilities. This he did not disprove in any succeeding part of his life; but, though he possessed the abilities, he had not the integrity of Alexander. During the Peloponnesian war, Perdiccas took an important part in the affairs of Greece; and, on account of his hatred to the Athenians, the ancient and constant enemies of his kingdom, allied himself with the Lacedæmonian commonwealth. The Spartan and Macedonian armies being united, proceeded to the attack of several towns in the Chalcidica. These cities were at that time allied with, or dependent on, the republic of Athens; and, by subverting the dominion of that state in the Chalcidican territory, he hoped to extend and secure the influence of Macedonia. In this, however, he was disappointed. Some differences arising between the Spartan general and the Macedonian monarch, the Olynthian confederacy was broken and destroyed; its members became subject to Sparta; and, when that state was reduced by

the calamities of war, the Olynthians found themselves sufficiently powerful not only to resist the encroachments of Macedon, but to attempt and acquire very considerable conquests in that country.

On the death of Perdiccas, his son, Archelaus the first, succeeded to the throne. He was a prince of great ability, and indefatigable diligence. The liberal and enlightened policy he displayed was much more beneficial to his kingdom than the courage of Alexander, or the craft of Perdiccas. Like them, he was ambitious of extending the reputation and power of the Macedonian monarchy; and accordingly laid siege to and reduced Pydna, with several other towns in the delightful region of Pieria. He did not, however, pursue his conquests so much for obtaining dominion as that he might cultivate and improve his acquisitions. He commanded roads to be cut through most parts of the country, that a communication might be facilitated between the several towns of Macedon; and he built walls and fortifications in those places which seemed most subservient to his purpose. He was a great encourager of agriculture and the arts, particularly of those that relate to war. He raised and disciplined a very considerable army; and, in a word, performed more than all his predecessors, in aggrandizing and strengthening the Macedonian monarchy.

Archelaus also cherished the milder arts of peace. He was greatly distinguished for his love of learning and learned men; and his palace was adorned by the works of the Grecian painters. Euripides, the tragic poet, was his guest for some time, and lived in the greatest intimacy

intimacy with him. Socrates also was strongly solicited to take up his abode at the court of Archelaus; where he might continue the friendship that had subsisted between him and Euripides, whose sentiments had been formed by that philosopher. In short, the accomplished Archelaus invited men of merit and genius, in all the various walks of literature and of science, to take up their abode at Macedon; and, studious of promoting his own glory and the interests of his kingdom, treated them with distinguished regard.

After the death of Archelaus, who is said to have been murdered by a conspirator, the throne was filled successively with ten princes or usurpers, whose history is principally filled with crimes and calamities. The sceptre, however, never departed from the house of Hercules; though almost every person of the blood attempted to seize it. They expelled one another from the throne; and the rival candidates courted alternately the assistance of Illyria, Thrace, Thessaly, Olynthus, Athens, Sparta, and Thebes. These cities failed not to aim at improving the dissensions of Macedonia to their own immediate advantage. Bardyllis, an active and daring chieftain, who had risen from a private person to the command of the Illyrian tribes, being instigated by Argæus, who consented to become tributary to him, entered the Macedonian territory with a powerful army, and deposed Amyntas. Argæus reigned about two years; at the expiration of which time, the Thessalians furnishing the exiled prince with an army, he marched against the usurper, and compelled him to retire.

Amyntas was, however, no sooner re-established on his throne than he found himself at war with the Olynthians; who had seized, and refuse to surrender, several places in his dominion. The Macedonian king, therefore, sent to request the assistance of Sparta; and that republic procured him the restoration of the territory that was unjustly detained. This circumstance we have already had occasion to notice.

Alexander, the son of Amyntas, succeeded his father in the kingdom. His reign was of short duration; but was, nevertheless, disturbed by an invasion of the Illyrians. He left two brothers, Perdiccas and Philip, the elder of whom was a minor. Pausanias claimed the kingdom; and was on the point of obtaining it, when, at this critical juncture, Iphicrates, the Athenian, arrived from Amphipolis, the recovery of which city had formed the principal cause of his expedition. In other journeys to the coast of Thrace, the Athenian commander had always been treated with respect by Amyntas, whose widow Eurydice now implored his assistance against the usurper Pausanias; and Iphicrates, moved by her tears and intreaties, espoused her cause, and deposed Pausanias.

During the minority of the young prince, the kingdom was governed by his natural brother Ptolemy, whose ambition refused to be satisfied with a delegated power. This usurper (as we have related above) was deposed by the Thebans under the command of Pelopidas; and Perdiccas was reinstated in the kingdom. To secure its dependence on Thebes, thirty youths were carried as hostages to that city; in the number

of

of whom was Philip, afterwards the renowned king of Macedon.

Perdiccas seemed to glory in his humiliation; The friendly interposition of the Athenians was forgotten; and the protection of the Thebans, at that time in the zenith of their prosperity, only remembered. He therefore seized the opportunity of disputing the right of the Athenians to the city of Amphipolis, which had been acknowledged by the general council of Greece; and his opposition rendered fruitless their well-directed endeavours to recover that important establishment. But Bardyllis, the Illyrian, avenged the wrongs of Athens on the ungrateful Macedonian. Perdiccas refused to continue the tribute which had been paid to that chief during the reigns of Argæus and Alexander. Bardyllis, therefore, prepared to exact his claim by force of arms. A general engagement ensued, in which the Macedonians were defeated, with the loss of four thousand men; and Perdiccas, being taken prisoner, died soon afterward of the wounds he received in the battle. His son Amyntas was in his infancy. At this time, Thebes had lost, by the death of Epaminondas, that superiority in Greece which, during the life of that illustrious Theban, she had acquired. Athens had great reason for being hostile; and Macedon, surrounded by foes on every side, already experienced the calamities inflicted by barbaric fury.

Not only the Illyrians and Bardyllis entered and laid waste the western part of Macedon, but the Pœonians, a warlike tribe, endeavoured to revenge the injuries received from Perdiccas. The Thracians still made attempts to replace

Pausanias on the throne of Macedon. Argæus, who had been driven from the usurpation, emboldened by the success of the Illyrians, renewed his pretensions. He prevailed on the Athenians, who still felt themselves hurt by the opposition they had experienced from Macedon relative to Amphipolis, to exert themselves in his favour. The Athenians therefore sent a fleet against that kingdom, on board of which were three thousand heavy-armed men, commanded by Mantias.

Such was the calamitous situation of public affairs in Macedonia, when Philip appeared. Undismayed by the evils which threatened the kingdom and the throne, he boldly asserted the right of his infant nephew, against the claims of two competitors, and the opposition of four formidable armies. A prince of less courage than Philip would never have formed a design so apparently desperate and impractible. Something more than courage, however, was requisite, to give success to the enterprise; and Philip displayed those wonderful resources in his twenty-third year, which appeared in every subsequent part of his life. His reign is the most interesting in the page of history to those who, surveying not the vulgar revolutions occasioned by force, are delighted with viewing the active energies of a great and comprehensive mind. He had remained in obscurity until the death of his brother; and it is now unknown where his residence had always been. He had lived, however, chiefly in Thebes, from the age of fifteen; and had lodged in the house of Epaminondas, whose lessons and example could not fail of exciting, in a kindred mind, the

B. C. 369.

the emulation of excellence and the ardour of patriotism. He studied the character of that illustrious Theban; and united indefatigable activity to a firm and steady conduct. It is not improbable that he sometimes accompanied Epaminondas to the camp: certain, however, it is that he visited the several republics of Greece, whose civil and military institutions he examined with a sagacity that far surpassed his years.

The tactics of the Spartans were the first establishment that he introduced into Macedonia. But it was not in the acquisition of knowledge only that the travels of Philip were useful to him. As the brother of Perdiccas, the Macedonian monarch, he was every where received with kindness, and found an easy access to those whose acquaintance he considered it his interest to cultivate. He visited Athens, at that time hostile to his country and to his family: but even there he met with a favourable reception; and was introduced to the company of Plato, Aristotle, and Isocrates, whose friendship and esteem he acquired. To the connections which he formed in Athens and other Grecian states, may probably be ascribed, in a great measure, the success of his future undertakings.

The appearance of Philip in Macedon gave a new turn to the complexion of affairs; but while we admire his conduct and abilities, we ought not to overlook those circumstances which conspired in enabling him, in so little time, to subdue or appease the many domestic and foreign enemies with which he was surrounded. The fortified places of Archelaus furnished a safe and secure retreat to the remains of Perdiccas's army, after the engagement with the Illyrians. The Macedonians

Macedonians, though conquered, were far from being subdued. In the fortresses and places of strength, which were in every part of the kingdom, were very considerable garrisons. The whole force of Macedonia had not, as yet, engaged the enemy; and the Illyrians, intent only upon plunder, having ravaged and laid waste the open country without meeting any formidable opposition, returned home laden with spoi They probably, however, meant to assault Macedonia with still greater numbers, and to complete their conquests and devastations: but, though distinguished for their strength and courage, they seem not to have acted in concert; and the desultory mode which they pursued was inimical to their views and interests.

The inhabitants of Pœonia and Thrace were less ignorant and untractable. In former periods, the Pœonians were considered as superior in every respect to their Macedonian neighbours; but the Grecian colony, that had occupied the territory of the latter, had produced a surprising change, and greatly meliorated the condition of its inhabitants; while the former, on the contrary, remained stationary, and made no advances from ignorance and barbarism to knowledge, and more refined modes of life. Very little more than half a century before this, Macedonia indeed was scarcely superior to any of the numerous and barbarous hordes that infested the neighbourhood. Of the Thracians we have had occasion to speak in another part of this work. The ravages of Scuthes denote the country to have been unsettled and inhospitable. The inhabitants, were generally under the command of many chiefs; who, carrying on mutual hostilities,

hostilities, banished agriculture, industry, and every useful art. They had neither cities nor towns in their territory, except a few Grecian settlements on the coast.

Such was the condition of those whom Philip found his enemies, when he stood forward to claim and maintain the rights of his infant nephew. The Illyrians, actuated by irresolute and unsteady councils, evacuated the territory, and returned into their own country. He sent ministers to the Pæonians, who, partly by bribes, and partly by promises, prevailed on that rude people to retire from Macedonia; and by the same arts he persuaded the Thracian chief, who appeared on behalf of Pausanias, to relinquish his claim, and leave the kingdom.

In the mean time, the Athenians, who had espoused the cause of the banished Argæus, anchored with their fleet before the harbour of Methone. The army of Argæus was encamped on the plain; and the exiled monarch, having united his forces with the Athenians, prepared to march to Edessa, the capital of the kingdom, where he expected to be joined by a very powerful party, whom fear or inclination would allure to his standard. The Macedonians, who interested themselves in the cause of the infant Amyntas, had become dispirited by the defeat they had suffered from the Illyrians, and the consequent events of that battle; but the manly exhortations of Philip, together with the fearless deportment he exhibited, animated their minds, and roused them from their despair. They admired the address by which he had removed the Pæonians and Thracians out of the kingdom, and disarmed their resentment.

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The insinuating manners and winning affability of Philip, together with the gracefulness of his person, procured him the affections of the people, and the superstition of the Macedonians was wrought upon to forward his purposes. Verses, said to have been composed many years before, were handed about, in which Philip was mentioned as the founder of the Macedonian greatness. These Sybilline oracles were considered as authentic and sacred by the credulous multitude; who believed that they foretold the great glory that should result to the nation by the reign of the son of Amyntas. Under these impressions, an assembly was convened at Egæ; and the people unanimously declared, "Philip is the man whom the gods have announced as the founder of the Macedonian greatness: the difficulty and turbulence of the times admit not of having an infant monarch; let us then obey the dictates of heaven, and of the present dangers, and make choice of a man to wield the sceptre, who is worthy to possess and able to defend it. This proposal was immediately acceded to; and Philip, who had hitherto exercised the delegated powers of regent only, was appointed by the suffrages of the people king of Macedon.

The affections of the Macedonians thus centering in Philip, no other means were left to Argæus, for attempting the recovery of the kingdom, than by force of arms. He therefore marched with the Athenean auxiliaries, and arrived at Edessa; but the inhabitants shut the gates, and refused to admit him into the city. Dispirited by this repulse, he made no farther attempts to obtain possession of any other of the Macedonian

Macedonian cities, but returned with his army to Methone. Philip, who was now enabled to take the field with his troops, pursued the retreating army; which he harassed extremely, and afterwards defeated with great slaughter in a general engagement. This action revived the spirits of the Macedonian forces, and taught them to confide in the abilities of their youthful monarch. The king, on this occasion, displayed that prudence and moderation which distinguished him from his contemporary chieftains. He allowed the remains of Argæus's army, whether Greeks or barbarians, to capitulate.

The proud and lofty spirit of Philip could not but be highly offended by the conduct of the Athenians and the followers of Argæus; and the barbarous maxims which prevailed, in that age, gave him full liberty to wreak his vengeance on the unfortunate captives. But he displayed that artful and deceiving policy which served at first to strengthen and secure him on the throne, and afterward enabled him to extend his dominions. He saw it to be his interest not to irritate the minds of the Athenians, but to sooth their passions; and to obtain by kindness the affections of those Macedonians whom he could not gain by force. The prisoners of the latter nation were commanded to attend him. Having remonstrated against their conduct in meek and gentle terms, for attacking the throne of a prince who had been elected sovereign by the almost unanimous voicé of the nation, he admitted them to swear fidelity to his person and government; and then distributed them promiscuously in his army. But the Athenian prisoners were treated in a still more extraordinary

traordinary and friendly manner. They received their baggage unexamined and unopened; they were entertained at the table of Philip with condescending hospitality; and were restored to their country without a ransom.

This conduct of the artful monarch had the desired effect. The Athenian soldiers returned home applauding and admiring the behaviour of Philip, and persuaded that the young king entertained great attachment and respect for their republic. Scarcely had they time to blaze forth the praises and disinterestedness of the Macedonian monarch, when ambassadors arrived from Philip at Athens; who renounced, in his name, all jurisdiction over Amphiopolis, and declared that, henceforth, it should be a free and independent city, and subject only to the government of its own laws. This measure tended greatly to hasten a peace between the two countries; for, though the Athenians derived much advantage from their colonies and conquests in Thrace and Macedon, yet the unavoidable expences of maintaining armies in those parts greatly discouraged them, and inclined them to an accommodation, whenever it could be done with honour. The terms proposed by Philip, together with his recent treatment of the Athenian prisoners, ensured the success of his embassy. A peace was concluded, on the basis of a treaty formerly made between the Athenians and his father Amyntas. Thus was that capricious and unsteady people lulled into security, at a time when, having again obtained the sovereignty of Greece, their present power and ancient glory urged them to take an active and superior part against the designs of the Macedonian

nian monarch. An opinion that the power of Philip was feeble, and insecure, induced them to confide in a treaty insidious and dangerous; and they engaged in a war with their allies, which terminated, as we have seen, in ruin and infamy.

The young king having by means of these negociations settled and tranquillized the state of the kingdom, began to establish such institutions as might extend his own power, and confirm the greatness of Macedon. The laws and maxims of the heroic ages, which, as we have observed already, were introduced into that kingdom at a very early period, greatly circumscribed the regal power. The principal persons of the state regarded themselves, not as the subjects, but as the rivals, or the equals, of their king. They followed, indeed, the standard of their sovereign during war; but they frequently shook the throne of the prince with sedition. The moment of success appeared most likely for acquiring what seemed necessary in the government of the kingdom, and for extinguishing that proud and dangerous spirit which too often thwarted the measures of the sovereign.

Philip, therefore, proceeding with his usual policy and intrigue, selected from the bravest of the Macedonian youth a body of companions, whom he distinguished by honourable appellations. He constantly entertained them at his table; and they attended his person in the exercises of war and of the chase. The intimacy to which they were admitted, with the sovereign, they regarded as a conspicuous proof of their merit and abilities; and thus were excited to superior diligence in the occupation and duties of a military life. The young nobi-

lity, animated with the hope of glory and renown, vied with each other in obtaining this distinguished privilege: they served as hostages to Philip for the allegiance and loyalty of the principal families in Macedonia; and they formed that seminary for excellent generals which produced those commanders who, after having assisted Philip and Alexander to conquer, at length obtained for themselves, and divided, the spoils of the ancient world.

It has been asserted by some writers that Philip invented, in the first year of his reign, the Macedonian phalanx: a body of six thousand men, with short swords, proper for cutting or thrusting; with strong bucklers four feet long, and two and a half broad; and pikes fourteen cubits in length. This body of troops, however, did not differ in their form and arrangement from the phalanx that had been hitherto in use among the Greeks, and which Philip only adopted in its most perfect manner. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Philip, who was sensible of the difficulty and danger of changing what custom had so long established, made any alteration in the weapons or tactics of the Macedonians. He employed his time more usefully and judiciously, by procuring arms, horses, and soldiers; by reviewing and disciplining the forces of his kingdom; and by inuring them to that austerity and labour which alone can produce men capable of supporting the fatigues of a military life.

Being thus prepared for taking the field whenever an opportunity should present itself, his ambition was not suffered to be long unemployed. The death of Agis, king of the Pæoni-

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ans, which happened about this time, was no sooner known by Philip than he determined to embrace the occasion of revenging the insults and injuries which those barbarians had inflicted on Macedon. Amongst a people who have never been accustomed to obey the laws of peace or war, almost every thing depends on the uncertain character of their leader: Agis being dead, and no chief appearing to check his progress, Philip invaded their country, attacked their cities, and reduced them to such extremities that they were under the necessity of submitting to the conqueror; and Pæonia became an absolute dependency on Macedonia.

It is very probable that Philip permitted, according to the practice of the age, a number of Pæonians to follow his standard. His invasion of Pæonia being so successfully terminated, he undertook a winter's campaign against Bardyllis and the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of his family and his kingdom. Accordingly, with an army of ten thousand foot and six hundred horse, he marched toward the frontiers of Illyria. Before, however, he entered the enemy's country, he made a speech to his soldiers, after the custom of the Greeks, whose example and manners he was always desirous of imitating. The indignation of past injuries, the honour of subjects, and the glory of his crown, were the topics which Philip selected and enforced for animating the valour and resentment of his troops. Nor could he have chosen more suitable subjects; since the Macedonian soldiers were unable to comprehend the more refined and more secret motives of the artful monarch.

The Illyrian chief had extended his dominion

on the east to the injury of Macedonia, which was thereby totally excluded from the harbours of the Adriatic. Philip, who had early meditated the design of raising a naval power, considered this as an insupportable evil. He had also in view the conquest and subjugation of others of the neighbouring states: but, while the Illyrians were so powerful and formidable, he could not leave his country without exposing it to their predatory incursions; nor, without conquering this warlike race, could he ever expect to accomplish the great designs which he had already formed. Directed by such solid principles of policy, rather than governed by resentment or allured by the hopes of victory, Philip proceeded with the caution necessary for executing this enterprize with success.

Bardyllis offered to treat with Philip on the condition that each should be allowed to retain what he at present possessed. Philip answered that he always preferred peace to war; but that he could not think of preserving it by quitting his claim to those places which were in the hands of the Illyrians. Upon this refusal, both sides prepared for an engagement. Bardyllis met the enemy in the field with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse; but the precise scene of the engagement is unknown. The Macedonian phalanx attacked the enemy's column in front; while the targeteers and light armed troops galled its flank, and the cavalry harassed its rear. The engagement was obstinate and bloody; and, had not the Macedonian horse attacked them in the rear, the victory had probably been on the side of the Illyrians. The resistance, however, of Bardyllis and his forces,

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must have been extremely great, since seven thousand of them were left dead on the field of battle; in the number of whom was the Illyrian chief, who fell, at the age of ninety, fighting bravely on horseback at the head of his troops.

By the loss of the experienced Bardyllis, and of the flower of their youthful warriors, the strength and courage of the Illyrian tribes were completely broken: they accordingly sent a deputation to Philip, and purchased peace at the expense not only of their conquests but of all their possessions, independence, and liberty. Philip imposed upon them the same conditions to which the Pæonians had been obliged to submit. That part of their country which lies on the east of the lake of Lychnidus was annexed to the territory of Macedonia; and such was the ascendancy which the arms and policy of Philip had already acquired that the inhabitants of the intermediate district soon adopted the language and the manners of the Macedonians.

Philip, having settled the affairs of Illyria, returned to Macedonia; but not with a design of enjoying ease and repose. He had in view more important conquests than those which had hitherto employed his arms. He had already extended his dominion on the northern and western frontier of Macedonia; but the Greeks, who inhabited the rich and fruitful shores on the southern extremity of his kingdom, presented a more tempting prize, though a much more formidable enemy. The Olynthian confederacy, which had disdained the yoke of Sparta, had now become very powerful: it was able to send into the field ten thousand heavy armed men, and a large body of disciplined cavalry. Most

of the principal towns of the Chalcydica had joined Olynthus, either as allies or as subjects. This populous and wealthy province, with Pangæus on the right and Pieria on the left, the cities of both which were independent or subject to the Athenians, might be considered as sufficient for guarding the Grecian states against the encroachments of Macedon, or perhaps even for subduing that kingdom.

But though the acquisition of Olynthus was of great and incalculable advantage to Philip, for executing with success the arduous design in which he was engaged, the importance of Amphipolis attracted his first attention. The possession of Amphipolis would connect the territory of Macedonia with the sea; and thereby give the means of raising a naval force, which would lead the way to trade and commerce. It would also open a road to the woods and mines of mount Pangæus; the former of which might be essentially useful to the building of ships, and the latter in forming and keeping up a sufficient military force. Philip, as we have seen, had made it a free and independent city, that he might avoid a rupture with Athens; and though the Athenians still claimed their ancient and indisputable right over it, they had never been able to acquire possession of it. They determined, however, to renew their attempts for recovering the city; while the Amphipolitans, having experienced the happiness of liberty, used every exertion to render these fruitless.

In this situation of affairs, the new republic began to entertain suspicions of the designs of Philip, which all his artifice had not been able to conceal. The Amphipolitans, therefore, made application

application to the Olynthians, and requested that they might be admitted into their confederacy. This was immediately granted, and protection of their city promised them. Emboldened by this alliance, they began equally to defy the menaces of Macedonia and of Athens. Philip, who wanted nothing more than some specious grounds for commencing hostilities with the Amphipolitans, was soon furnished by their imprudent insolence with the desired pretext. The Olynthians perceived that the vengeance of Philip would speedily be inflicted on their new allies, and thereby involve them in the common ruin. To prevent this danger, while there still remained time and means for obviating it, the Olynthians sent a deputation to Athens, requesting the alliance of that republic against Philip, who was the natural enemy of both states, and whose hitherto successful activity, if not seasonably checked, threatened the destruction of every neighbouring kingdom.

The Macedonian monarch was well aware of the importance of this alliance, and sensible that he could not contend with any hope of success against the united efforts of Olynthus and Athens. He was, therefore, no sooner apprised of the intentions of the confederates than he sent ministers also to Athens, to counteract and repel the danger with which he was threatened. His agents reached that city before any determination had been made relative to Olynthus. They won over the popular leaders and orators to their party by bribes; and the magistrates and senate were flattered and deceived by plausible but deceitful declarations. The emissaries of Philip promised that the king would deliver up Amphipolis

phipolis to the Athenians after he had conquered it, provided they would surrender to him Pydna, a place of much less importance. To these conditions the Athenian magistrates consented; the possession of Amphipolis appeared to them a great object, and they were elated with the hope of recovering this important place, and with the secret promises of the deceitful monarch. This business required such haste in the dispatch that the assembly of the people was never convened to deliberate upon it. The senate of five hundred disdainfully rejected the overtures of the Olynthians, who returned home disgusted and indignant at the reception given to their proposals.

They had scarcely time to communicate to their countrymen the unsuccessful issue of their mission, and the indignation they felt on account of the behaviour of the Athenians, before ambassadors arrived at Olynthus from the Macedonian king. They pretended to condole with the Olynthians on the ill success of their overtures, and the affront they had received from the Athenians; but they affected surprise that the Olynthians should condescend to court the protection and alliance of a distant and proud republic, when Philip, who was so near and could speedily assist them in any emergency, wished for nothing more than to become their ally, and to be admitted a member of their confederacy.

In confirmation of his sincerity, the Macedonian monarch immediately put into their possession Anthemus, a town of considerable importance in their neighbourhood, but which had been always claimed by the kings of Macedon: and, that he might seem farther deserving of their gratitude,

gratitude, he promised them services of much more consequence; and, in particular, that Pydna and Potidæa, which commanded the opposite sides of the Thermaic gulph, and belonged to the Athenians, should be attacked by his troops, and if reduced become dependent cities of Olynthus.

These proposals of Philip, who was never more sincere than his interest required, together with the influence of some of the principal persons in Olynthus, produced the desired effect; and the Amphipolitans, who were at no pains to suppress those offences and complaints which frequently and naturally arise between the jealous members of an unequal confederacy, had the mortification to see their cause abandoned by their allies. Thus did the intriguing Macedonian not only prevent all resistance to his views from the Olynthians, but induce that people to become his sincere friend and ally. When nothing remained, therefore, to oppose his designs, Philip prepared for action. He marched an army with great celerity toward Amphipolis, and vigorously besieged that place. In their emergency the inhabitants dispatched Hierox and Stratocles to Athens, to represent to that republic the danger which threatened the Athenians, from an alliance between Philip and the Olynthians, and to intreat that the Athenians would forgive the errors of their unfortunate colony, and once more grant the wretched Amphipolitans the protection of their navy.

When they made their submission to the Athenian republic, that state was deeply engaged in the social war; and could therefore scarcely be supposed to give proper attention to the requests of the Amphipolitans, and to grant that speedy and

and powerful assistance which was necessary to protect their city against the designs of Philip. It is not, however, improbable that the Athenians would have used their endeavours for recovering so important and valuable a settlement, had not the policy of Philip defeated any intention of this nature. He sent them a letter, in which he renewed the assurances of his friendship, acknowledged the justice of their pretensions to the city, which he actually besieged, and artfully declared that, according to the engagement subsisting between them, he hoped in a short time to put it into their hands.

The Athenians, again amused and deceived by the representations of Philip, behaved with as little respect to the ambassadors of Amphipolis as they had formerly shown to those of Olynthus. The besieged being thus deprived of all hopes of relief, Philip pressed the attack with redoubled vigour: a breach was made in the walls; and the Amphipolitans, after defending themselves with great resolution, which tended only to increase the resentment of the assailants, were compelled at length to surrender their city at the discretion of the conqueror. The territory was reunited to Macedonia; and Philip, notwithstanding the promises he had made the Athenians, resolved that it should never come into their possession.

B. C. 358.

The possession of Amphipolis gave Philip an opportunity to pursue his conquest in the territories of Thrace; to which the present situation of Athens, deeply engaged in the events of the social war, could afford no obstacle. Without deigning, therefore, to notice the remonstrances of the Thracian king, he marched thirty miles east

east of Amphipolis, and arrived at Crenide, a town situated at the foot of mount Pangæus, and distant ten miles from the sea. Here the principal object that attracted his attention, and on account of which he had entered the Thracian territories, was the gold mines in that neighbourhood. They had formerly belonged to the Thracians and Athenians, who extracted from them great quantities of that precious metal; but, after they became the possession of the Thracians, they had been totally neglected.

Philip, having expelled those barbarians from the neighbourhood of Crenide, now hoped to extract from the bowels of the earth a treasure sufficient for purchasing that unlimited empire which he so passionately desired. He descended into the mines, and observed the decaying labours of the ancient proprietors. He caused the water to be drained off; the canals which had been broken or choaked up to be re-opened; and the earth was again ransacked for those riches the use of which Philip perfectly knew. He then established a colony of Macedonians at Crenide; which, in honour of its royal master, afterward assumed the name of Philippi. The revenue arising to the king from these mines amounted to a thousand talents, or about two hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum; and the coins struck by his order were also called Philippi.

Having effected the great purpose of his expedition into Thrace, the Macedonian monarch turned his arms towards Thessaly; which, since the murder of Alexander, had been governed by three tyrants, Tissiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, who were at once the brothers-in-law, the assassins,

assassins, and the successors of that unfortunate prince. The Thessalians, who had been greatly oppressed by the tyrants, united their arms with those of Philip; and the usurpers were totally defeated, and reduced to such extremities that they were afterward unable to injure either their subjects or their neighbours. The Thessalians were unsteady in their resolutions, and incapable of preserving for a length of time any impressions whatever. They promised, in the first emotions of their gratitude, that all the revenue which arose from their fairs, and towns of trade, as well as all the conveniences of their harbours and shipping, should belong to Philip. And this cession, extraordinary as it may appear, the Macedonian monarch had the address to render effectual and permanent.

During his stay in Thessaly, he contracted an alliance with Arybbas, king of Epirus, a small principality that joined on the Thessalian territory. While he lived at Thebes, Philip had frequently seen Olympias, the sister of Arybbas, whose mental and personal accomplishments had made a deep impression on his heart. In the isle of Samothrace, where the triennial festival of Ceres was kept, they had been both initiated at the same time in the mysteries of that goddess. The ambition of Philip, however, and the activity in which he spent the years immediately succeeding his accession to the throne, had probably banished the remembrance of Olympias from his mind, until his journey into Thessaly. At the first interview, however, he felt his passion revive; and, as the kings of Epirus were descendants of the renowned Achilles, the marriage seemed in every respect worthy of him.

him. Accordingly, Arybbas yielding his consent, he conducted the beautiful Olympias into Macedonia, and made her his queen.

The voluptuousness into which Philip sunk, after his marriage with Olympias, encouraged the hopes of the neighbouring princes, whom he had before reduced, or in some respect humbled. The Pæonians, Illyrians, and Thracians, united together and made preparations for attacking the Macedonian monarch. The design was concerted with more caution than is often to be observed among barbarians; and this general confederacy against the interests and strength of Macedon might have proved fatal to Philip and his kingdom, had he not been timely informed of the danger by some of his faithful partisans and emissaries in those countries.

As soon as he was made acquainted with the designs which were forming against him, he prepared to take the field early in the ensuing spring, with the flower of the Macedonian troops. Parmenio, a general in whom he placed very great confidence, was sent against the Illyrians; whom he soon reduced to obedience. Philip himself marched an army into Pæonia and Thrace, where he was equally successful. While he was returning from this expedition, a messenger arrived with the news of Parmenio's victory; and soon after came another, informing him that his horses had been victorious at the Olympic games, and gained the prize in the chariot races. This was a victory that he esteemed preferable to any other, as it gave him an undisputed right to the name of a Grecian; and he ever afterward had the figure of a chariot impressed on his coins. Almost at the same time came a

third messenger, who acquainted him that his wife Olympias had brought forth a son at Pella. Philip, alarmed at so signal a happiness, which the heathens generally considered as an omen of some dreadful catastrophe, exclaimed, "Great Jupiter! in return for so many blessings, send me only a slight misfortune!" B. C. 356.

CHAP. XVI.

Affairs of Greece and Macedonia, from the Birth of Alexander to the Conclusion of the Sacred War.

SOON after the birth of his son Alexander, Philip wrote a letter to Aristotle the philosopher; whose merit he had early discerned at Athens while he was a disciple of Plato. The letter was conceived in the following terms: "Know that a son is born to us. We give thanks to the Gods, not so much for their gift as that it is bestowed during the life of Aristotle. We assure ourselves that you will form him a prince worthy of his father, and of Macedonia." Aristotle commenced the instruction of Alexander, when the young prince was thirteen years of age; and when he might be supposed capable of receiving and understanding the lessons of that great philosopher, to whom he was unquestionably under the highest obligations for the cultivation of those talents which nature had given him.

Philip had now been settled five years on the throne

throne of his ancestors. The ancient boundaries of his kingdom were greatly extended and amply secured; but he had much more augmented his revenues. On the north, he had acquired the country of the Pæonians; which had been annexed to his dominions, and might no longer be considered as a rival, but as an obsequious province of Macedon: and, by the territories obtained in Thrace and Illyria, the frontiers of his kingdom were extended on the east to the sea of Thasos, and on the west to the lake of Lychnidus. The whole of Thessaly was now at his disposal. The city of Amphipolis procured him many commercial advantages; and there it was that he hoped to raise such a naval force as would completely give him the sovereignty of the sea, while the victories of his troops would enable him to acquire the same dominion by land. He had raised such a powerful and numerous army, and had exercised his troops so much in military discipline, that his forces would yield to none in bravery and skill, but were greatly formidable to the rest of their neighbours for their numbers, their courage, and experience. He regulated his finances with great economy, and was careful not to exceed his resources. The mines of Philippi afforded him a great annual revenue; which, as it was extracted out of the earth, and not from his subjects, appeared better calculated to produce real advantages to the interests of his kingdom. This resource was alike useful to his designs, whether he directed his views to the conquest of foreign dominions or applied himself to the more solid but less splendid undertaking of erecting and

consolidating the internal grandeur of his kingdom.

At this time an event occurred which kindled anew the flame of war, among some of the Grecian states; and which in its final effects supplied Philip with a pretext of interfering in their affairs, and thus of furthering the project which he had formed to make himself the master of that country.

The council of the Amphictyons, who had, as was before mentioned, lost their influence and importance in the affairs of Greece, recovered their authority in consequence of the events that took place in the Grecian republics, and which have been already described. Too often it happens that the acquisition and exercise of uncontrouled power corrupt the heart, and produce those dangerous and destructive passions which oppose the happiness of man. This effect was observable in the Amphictyons, immediately after the renewal of their power. They pretended that many and great abuses had been introduced during the declension of their authority, which it was proper and necessary to remedy. The sacred rights of religion, they said, which it was their first duty to maintain, had been materially and impiously violated by the state of Phocis; which had, in disregard of the decision of the oracle and of a decree of the amphictyonic council, ploughed lands that were sacred to Apollo, and therefore improper to be used for agriculture.

These lands, however, were confined to the narrow district which divides the river Cephissus and mount Thurium, on the western frontier of

of Bœotia. The criminal conduct of the Phocians (if their useful labours be deserving of that epithet) was neither great nor unprecedented. The Locrians of Amphisso had long cultivated the plains of Crissæa. This territory was much more extensive, and had been consecrated to the God by far more awful and sacred services. The Amphictyons, however, regardless of this distinction, summoned the Phocians to appear before them, and answer to the crime of which they were accused. The charge being proved against them, they were condemned to pay a heavy fine, and the sacred lands were ordered to be once more laid waste.

It is generally believed that the Thebans, who were the neighbours and the enemies of the Phocians, were the principal abettors of this arbitrary measure; certain it is that their influence at that time predominated in the council. This supposition is rendered still more probable by the succeeding deliberations of the amphictyonic council. The next sentence of that assembly was directed against Sparta; to punish the injury of Phœbidas, who in time of peace had seized on the Theban citadel, and left in it a garrison of Lacedæmonian troops. But this breach of public faith was committed (as has been above noticed) several years before. However flagrant and dishonest the crime might appear, prudence required that it should have been buried in oblivion; but at the instigation of the Thebans, the amphictyonic council brought it again to light. The Lacedæmonians for this action were commanded to pay a fine of five hundred talents; and, if they did not pay the money in a certain time, that sum was to be

doubled; but if they wholly disregarded the Amphictyons, and refused to obey the decree, they were in that case to be considered as the public enemies of Greece.

The angry decree of the amphictyonic council, against the inhabitants of Phocis, excited deep regret in that state, which was very unable to levy such a sum as was exacted. The danger, therefore, that threatened them, they knew not how to avoid. It was true the decree of the Amphictyons was peremptory, nor was it to be supposed that they would recede from their pretensions. But then, on the other hand, that council had not wherewith to compel a submission to their commands. The force which they possessed would be very ineffectual for their purpose; provided the devoted objects of their vengeance remained firm and unalterable in their purpose, and refused either to lay waste the sacred lands or to pay the fine imposed on them.

These bold and daring measures were proposed and recommended by Philomelus, one of the principal citizens of Phocis; a person whose popular eloquence and valour gave him a very powerful ascendant in the affairs of that state. He was also possessed of hereditary wealth. He contemned and ridiculed the superstitious ideas of the nation; and, being a bold and ambitious man, expected that, amidst the tumult of action and danger, an opportunity would present itself of raising him to a higher rank and reputation in the commonwealth. The Phocians frequently met to deliberate on this important matter. The danger of refusing, and the injustice and even the impossibility of obeying

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ing, the decree of the amphictyonic council were frequently discussed.

In all these deliberations Philomelus assisted. He endeavoured to inflame the vanity and tempt the avarice of his countrymen. He proved to them that to the Phocians belonged the guardianship of the temple of Apollo at Delphos, and the immense treasures contained within its walls. By these arguments, together with his popular manner of speaking, Philomelus wrought upon the minds of the people; and a majority of the senate and the assembly assented to the truth of what he asserted. Thus far successful, he had the address to procure for himself the appointment of general of the army; being considered as the most proper person for undertaking this office, and for executing those measures which he had so strenuously recommended. The Phocians imbibed the spirit of enterprize; and the youth were desirous of enlisting themselves under his standard, that they might defend, against the united attacks of envy and injustice, the honour of their country, its safety and freedom. All the public money, and even the private fortune of Philomelus and of other citizens, were expended in making preparations for commencing hostilities; and in purchasing the mercenary aid of those needy adventurers who abounded in every part of Greece, and were ready to afford their assistance to every employer.

The following year was consumed by Philomelus in providing the necessary arms, and in exercising his troops: he also undertook an embassy to the republic of Sparta, that he might induce the Lacedæmonians to concur in his views,

views, since they had also received a very signal insult and injury from the amphictyonic council, relative to the seizure of the Theban citadel by Phæbidas, as before mentioned. Not having discharged the fine imposed by the Amphictyons in the time required, their penalty was accordingly doubled, and they were now condemned to pay a thousand talents. The exorbitance and injustice of this imposition might have been considered sufficient to justify the Spartans in following the example of the Phocians, and in bidding defiance to the power and authority of the amphictyonic council.

But Archidamus, the Lacedæmonian king, who possessed the caution and address of the renowned Agesilaus, was unwilling that the Spartan commonwealth should take a principal share in the dangerous experiment which the Phocians were about to make against the decrees of a council generally revered, and which was considered by the several republics of Greece as the guardian appointed by the laws for defending the national religion and liberty. Yet, though under these circumstances he wished not that Sparta should take a leading part in the war, and place herself in the front of the battle, he nevertheless assured Philomelus that the interests of the Phocians and of Sparta were the same in the event of the contest, and that both himself and the Lacedæmonians approved the cause in which the former were engaged; adding that reasons of a private and temporary nature only hindered them from declaring openly in favour of the war, and that Philomelus might be assured secret supplies of men and money would

would be granted them until the Spartans should boldly step forward and maintain the common cause of the two republics. B. C. 356.

In proof of the intentions of Sparta, Archidamus put into the hands of the Phocians a considerable sum of money; and Philomelus, animated by the assurance he had received that his republic should be assisted by the Spartans in the war, returned home. He no sooner arrived at Phocis than he put into execution a most audacious and unexpected measure. The temple at Delphos, though it contained treasures of immense value, was scarcely defended by any military force; and the superstition of the people was generally considered as its principal guard. Philomelus, having prepared his men for the enterprize (for they could scarcely be prevailed on to commit so profane and impious an action) immediately conducted them toward Delphos. The Thracidæ that inhabited the neighbouring district were considered as the guardians of the temple. These people Philomelus engaged; and, having overcome the feeble resistance which they could afford, entered the sacred city with the calm intrepidity of a conqueror.

The Delphians, sensible that Philomelus was altogether void of religious sentiments, and of the respect which is due to the votaries of the Gods, prepared themselves in silent horror for beholding the complicated guilt of murder and of sacrilege, committed by him without remorse or pity: but the countenance of Philomelus, and still more his actions and declarations, assured them that his intentions were altogether adverse to their fears, and that he designed nothing which

which they expected. He had come, he said, to Delphos, with no hostile dispositions against the inhabitants, and with no sacrilegious views against the temple. The principal motive for his marching the troops thither was to emancipate both from the tyranny of the Amphictyons, whose arbitrary and oppressive proceedings were almost every where acknowledged and experienced. He had come to Delphos also for the purpose of asserting the ancient and unalienable right of the Phocians, relative to the patronage and protection of the Delphian shrine.

Philomelus then caused declarations of the same import to be diffused through the several republics of Greece. He tore away from the pillars the decrees of the Amphictyons against Phocis and Sparta; and then informed the inhabitants of this latter state that he had destroyed the brazen tablets containing the obnoxious commands of the Amphictyonic council. His emissaries contrived means to inflame the resentment of the Athenians against the republic of Thebes, their natural and implacable enemy; and Sparta and Athens came to a resolution to oppose the Amphictyons, and openly to support the measures of Philomelus.

Matters were now becoming serious. The Amphictyonic council met a second time, and a resolution was passed declaring war against the Phocians. Most of the Grecian cities engaged in the quarrel; and gave assistance to one or the other, according as their interest or inclination led them. The Thebans, who directed the measures of the Amphictyons, were the foremost to take the part of that august assembly; and, in conjunction with the Locrians, Thessalians, and other

other states of less consideration, determined to take the field in defence of their insulted religion and violated laws. The operations, however, of these states were conducted with that languor and tardiness which are generally incident to confederacies.

On the contrary, the Phocian commander prepared to act with vigour. The republics in Peloponnesus, and his other allies, afforded him little or no assistance. The expedient which he used for paying his troops was by levying very heavy contributions on the Delphians; whom their situation had rendered extremely rich, by the devotion that was paid by all Greece at the shrine of Apollo. He then, notwithstanding the declarations formerly made, began to enrich himself with the treasures of the Gods; observing that he did not see how the riches of Apollo could be more properly or beneficially employed than in the defence of the deity himself.

Philomelus collected about ten thousand mercenary soldiers; men equally daring and profligate with himself, who sacrificed all scruples of religion and of conscience to the prospect of obtaining a rich spoil. He began fortifying the temple and city of Delphos, in which he placed a powerful garrison. He then marched with the remainder of his forces, in order to repel the incursions of the enemy. Several battles were fought, and success appeared doubtful on both sides. For two years Philomelus waged war with the Thebans and Locrians, and the issue of his engagements terminated variously: the Phocians, however, were generally victorious;

rious; but no decisive action took place between the contending parties.

As both armies were in expectation of receiving speedy and powerful reinforcements from the several republics engaged in the quarrel, they were naturally desirous of avoiding a general engagement; but an unforeseen accident rendered their precautions ineffectual. The Theban and Phocian troops, entangled in the woods and mountains of Phocis, were drawn to seek forage near the same place. The advanced guards of the army having met unexpectedly near the town of Neone, began to skirmish; which brought on a general battle. A bloody and obstinate engagement followed; in which the Phocians, pressed by superior numbers, were at length compelled to retreat. The situation of the country, in which were many pathless woods and abrupt rocks and precipices, greatly impeded their return to Delphos. Philomelus made great but ineffectual exertions to retrieve the fortune of the battle, and to rally his fugitive soldiers and lead them again to the charge; but he himself was at length obliged to retreat with his flying battalions, and was carried to the brow of a precipice, afflicted with wounds, and still more with anguish and despair.

The enemy bore down all before them, and continued to advance to the place whither Philomelus had been driven. It seemed impossible to avoid them, or to escape the vengeance of their resentment. Collecting, therefore, all his courage, he formed a sudden and terrible resolution: he threw himself with fury from the top

top of the precipice, and by this means avoided the torments of a guilty conscience, and the vengeance of his enemies. The Thebans and their allies, who beheld the terrifying spectacle, considered this as a manifest indication of the divine wrath, and of the revenge which Apollo had exercised for the sacrilegious conduct of Philomelus relative to his sacred temple. In the mean time, Onomarchus, the lieutenant and brother of the Phocian general, collected the scattered fugitives, and returned with the feeble remains of the vanquished army towards Delphos. The confederate troops, animated with the success of this engagement, resolved to follow up their victory, and to expel this impious and sacrilegious band from that holy place; and they determined to inflict on the enemies of Heaven the same punishment that Philomelus had suffered.

Whilst these matters were transacting in the heart of Greece, different causes concurred to hinder the Macedonian king from taking any part in the Phocian war; and Athens and Sparta, which had promised their assistance against the Amphictyons, were compelled to relinquish their hopes for the present, and to abandon their allies. Archidamus, who, notwithstanding the institutions of Sparta, had obtained an absolute ascendency in that state, was induced by his interested policy less to support the arms of his distant confederates than to aim at the recovery of the Lacedæmonian dominion in Peloponnesus, which had now been a long time wrested from its ancient masters. The Athenians being at this time in strict alliance with Sparta, and the Thebans deeply engaged in the contest with the Phocians, the opportunity seem-

ed favourable for this attempt. For several years successively, the Spartans waged war with the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. The arms and intrigues of Archidamus, however, were unsuccessful. The inferior states and cities of Peloponnesus, roused by the sense of common danger and common interest, allied themselves together to repel the attempts of Sparta, and to retain their liberty; and, though Athens had entered into a confederacy with the Lacedæmonian commonwealth, yet that republic was unwilling to desert the cause of her ancient and faithful allies, the Arcadians and Messenians, and to give them up to the power of Sparta.

Whilst the politics of Peloponnesus formed a system apart from the rest, the centre of the Grecian nation was agitated and shaken by the sacred war, and the Athenians and the Macedonian monarch employed themselves in the affairs of Thrace. After the death of Cotys, the king of that country, the Thracian dominions were divided between his three sons, Kersobleptes, Berisades, and Amadocus. These princes, however, each dissatisfied with the partition of the country and with his own particular lot, commenced hostilities against one another; and, by means of this fraternal discord, Philip was enabled to carry off the prizes for which they so earnestly contended. He prevailed on Kersobleptes to cede part of the Thracian Chersonese to Athens, which sent a numerous fleet under the command of Chares to take possession of the territory thus made over to them. Sestos was the only city that resisted, which Chares stormed and took.

Philip

Philip then turned his arms against Methone, a small city of Thrace, which was unable to support itself by its own strength, but when in the power of his enemies failed not to disquiet him and to obstruct his designs. He therefore besieged that place, obliged it to capitulate, and raised it to the ground. In this siege the Macedonian king lost an eye; a misfortune which he is said to have borne with great impatience, because the circumstances that attended it were dishonourable to his judgment and humanity.

In the mean time the Phocians had appointed Onomarchus general of the army. His conduct, after he took the command, proved that he not only equalled his brother in courage and ambition, but that he far surpassed him in activity and enterprize. No man was better acquainted with the value and power of gold in military undertakings, and no man knew better how to effect his purpose with it.

Having drawn from the Delphic treasury as much wealth as he thought proper, he coined such an amazing quantity of money as had never before been seen, and circulated it through that nation. By means of the riches thus acquired, he hired more mercenaries, and the Phocian army was thereby restored and augmented. Their allies too were thus rendered more willing to afford them assistance; and even their enemies were not sufficiently proof against the temptations of money, which so frequently assailed their fidelity. Onomarchus employed great sums in bribing and distracting the Theban councils, and in diverting the course of their arms. He prevailed on the neighbouring states to observe a strict neutrality, who

might otherwise have been induced to join their forces to those of the enemy; and the Thessalians, a race of people remarkable for their avarice and fraud, openly espoused the cause of the Phocians.

These multiplied advantages Onomarchus employed with vigour; and he hoped that the unjust and sacrilegious motives of his enterprise might be eclipsed by the sudden splendour of victory. With the intention, therefore, of striking some signal blow against the enemy, he collected his troops, and marched a numerous and well appointed army into the country of the Locrians and Dorians. He ravaged and laid waste the whole territory, stormed and took the town of Thronium, and levied great contributions on several of the cities. He then penetrated into Bœotia; and, having ravaged part of that country, made himself master of Orchomenus. It was not until he came before the walls of Cheronæa that he met with a repulse from the enemy; who had here assembled all their forces, that they might put a stop to the ravages and incursions of the Phocians. Onomarchus had considerably weakened his army by placing garrisons in the several towns which he had taken, and by sending a detachment of seven thousand men into Thessaly under the command of his brother Phayllus. Under these circumstances, he judged it most prudent to avoid another engagement with the enemy.

After the taking of Methone, Philip, who was incessantly endeavouring to weaken his enemies by conquest, or to gain friends by his services, marched into Thessaly. The intrigues of the Macedonian monarch had counteracted the gold of

of Onomarchus; but Lycophron having been divested of his power by Philip, became the zealous partisan of the Phocians. He had again possessed himself of Pheræ; and Pegasæ, Magnesia, with several other places of less importance, had declared for him and for the Phocians. The Macedonian interest, however, prevailed in other parts; and the factions seemed to be equally divided.

The army of Philip commenced hostilities with great vigour. He attacked Phayllus, who was defeated and put to the rout. He then laid siege to Pegasæ; which he took, and drove the Phocians toward their own frontiers. Onomarchus, who had suffered a repulse from the Thebans, afraid of losing the interest he had lately acquired among the Thessalians, evacuated the territory of Bœotia, and marched with his whole army to encounter the forces of Philip. The army of the Macedonian was less numerous, but did not decline an engagement; in which, however, he was completely routed by the united force of Onomarchus and Lycophron. They afterwards ravaged and desolated the whole territory; while the Thebans were greatly alarmed at the depredations committed by these invaders.

In the mean time, though the army of Philip had suffered a defeat, his spirit remained still unsubdued. He perceived that the reduction of Thessaly was absolutely necessary for erecting that empire which he proposed. He therefore applied himself diligently to recruit his army; and, as soon as he thought himself sufficiently strengthened, he marched against Lycophron. The tyrant did not wait his approach; but, retiring

tiring with his troops to a place of safety, sent again to request the assistance of the Phocians. Onomarchus, being resolved to expel the Macedonian monarch entirely out of Thessaly, marched an army of twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse. In the mean while Philip had prevailed on the Thessalians to use their utmost efforts in reinforcing his troops; and the whole number of his forces amounted to twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. An engagement immediately followed, in which the Macedonian monarch obtained a decisive victory. The Thessalian horse chiefly decided the fate of the day: they were sensible that should Lycophron prove victorious, immediate destruction would await them; and therefore they fought with desperate resolution.

Three thousand Phocians, together with Onomarchus their general, were left dead in the field; and three thousand were taken prisoners. The slaughter would have been much greater, had not the Athenian fleet appeared off the shore where the battle was fought. Many of the Phocians threw away their armour, and swam to the vessels for protection. Philip caused the body of Onomarchus to be sought for among the slain; and, when found, he commanded it to be hung upon a gibbet as a peculiar mark of infamy. The other bodies of the slain were denied the rites of funeral, and thrown into the sea, on account of their sacrilegious conduct in violating the sacred temple at Delphos. The three thousand that were taken alive were either drowned or reduced to captivity; but the latter opinion is thought more probable.

It might have been expected that this decisive

sive blow would have proved fatal to the Phocians, and have terminated at once the sacred war; but though Philip had conquered them in Thessaly, he was afraid of pursuing them into their own country, on account of the jealousy of the Greeks, who he knew would be greatly alarmed if he attempted to pass the straits of Thermopylæ. He perceived, therefore, that the most proper and certain method, for attaining the end he had still in view, would be to perpetuate dissensions among the several Grecian communities. For this reason he began to foment divisions in Peloponnesus; and, though he had chastised the Phocians, he was unwilling to finish a war which, whilst it engrossed the attention of the Grecian states, served to conceal from them his own ambitious designs. The victory he had achieved over an odious and obnoxious enemy, raised his reputation in Greece and the neighbouring states to a high pitch. He garrisoned the cities of Pheræ, Pegasæ, and Magnesia; and thus secured to himself the dominion of Thessaly.

Phayllus, the brother and successor of the unfortunate Philomelus and Onomarchus, still carried on the unhappy contest. He perceived that his cause was now desperate, and therefore prepared to avail himself of the only resource that was left him. In order that he might increase the number of his followers, and procure an army fit for encountering the enemy, he sold all the valuable spoils which he found at the temple of Delphos. The money he thus procured, which was immense, allured to his standard many adventurers, and rendered his forces equal in every respect to those of his brothers.

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The fugitive Thessalians, that had assembled under Lycophron, entered into his army; and he obtained also the assistance of two thousand Lacedæmonians, two thousand Achæans, and five thousand Athenian infantry, with four hundred cavalry. These powerful reinforcements added new vigour to the unfortunate Phocians; and gave them reason to hope that when they took the field their enterprize would be successful, and their enemies be subdued. B. C. 352.

In the mean time Philip became sensible, from the conduct of the Athenians, that his designs could no longer be concealed. That republic, indeed, which had become justly suspicious of him, had lately concluded an alliance with Olynthus; and this proved to him the alarm which his measures had excited in the neighbouring states. He was informed by emissaries, whom he employed for the purpose, that the Grecian communities were in actual commotion, on account of the assistance and support given by many powerful republics in abetting the sacrilege of the Phocians. The Macedonian monarch considered it his duty, or rather his interest, to take an active part in the measures that were carrying on; and to give assistance to his friends, and defend the pious cause which he had formerly maintained with so much glory and success.

The victory which he had gained over Onomarchus was still remembered with gratitude by his allies. Not only the Locrians, Dorians, and Thebans, who had engaged as principals in the war, but also the religious in every part of Greece, looked to him as their deliverer. Philip therefore resolved to march, at the head of a numerous

numerous army, toward the celebrated straits of Thermopylæ. The expectations, however, which he had formed relative to the terror which his unexpected appearance in those parts would diffuse throughout Greece, he soon found to be false. The Athenians penetrated the real designs of Philip, which he endeavoured to conceal under the veil of religion: they doubted not that his intentions were to invade and conquer their country; and they imagined to themselves the Macedonians, Thessalians, and Thebans, attacking with fury the Attic and Peloponnesian territory. Impressed with these ideas, and the certainty of invasion that awaited their country, they were roused from that lethargy and supineness into which their councils had fallen. They flew to arms, launched their fleet, and, sailing with their troops, took possession of Thermopylæ.

Never did Philip experience a greater disappointment than in finding himself thus anticipated, by a people whom he had so often deceived. He abandoned the Phocian war to the conduct of the Thebans, and marched back toward Macedon; while the Athenians, after leaving a sufficient force to defend the straits, returned to their capital, and summoned an assembly of the people.

On this occasion it was that Demosthenes, the celebrated orator, made his first exertions against Philip. His sentiments and views were equally different from those of many Athenians who wished well to their country, and from the infamous hirelings of Philip who endeavoured to favour the interests of Macedon. No man was better acquainted with the corruption and degeneracy

neracy of the Athenian people, and none ever deplored it more. From the lethargy, however, into which they were sunk, he hoped and attempted to rouse them. This design, arduous and difficult as it certainly was, his eloquence (which was the most powerful, glowing, and sublime that ever man employed) sometimes effected. Great and almost incredible were the pains which Demosthenes made use of, that he might become an accomplished speaker. The ancient glory of his country was ever present to his view; and in the ardour of patriotism he sometimes forgot the sober dictates of reason. He asserted the just prerogatives and pretensions of his country; and would much rather have seen Athens discomfited, at the head of her allies, than victorious under any foreign standard. Such were the views, and such the character, of this eloquent and disinterested patriot. No wonder then that he became a favourite of the people, whose interests he was always ready to defend.

Demosthenes had endeavoured, on a previous occasion, to awaken the Athenians from their lethargic and indolent habits; and it was principally owing to his advice that they had been induced to send troops to occupy the straits of Thermopylæ. He now maintained that Philip had seized several communities by conquest, and others by alliances, merely by dint of his vigilance and intrepidity; and that if the Athenians would only rouse from their lethargy, and apply themselves to their interest, they might soon recover the advantages which their negligence had lost. "When, therefore," said the Athenian orator, "will you, O my countrymen! exert your vigour, and stand forth in defence of

of the liberties of your country? No necessity surely can be greater than the present. Will you ever be sauntering in the forum and places of resort, and enquiring after news? Nothing certainly can be more new than that a Macedonian should conquer Athens and enslave Greece! 'Is Philip dead?' 'No,' it is replied, 'but is in great danger.' What do these rumours concern you? It matters not whether he be sick or dead, if you conduct your affairs in this manner; for, should Philip die to-day, you will raise up another Philip to-morrow." He then exhorted them to send troops to protect Olynthus and the Chersonese from the incursions of the Macedonian monarch; but it is probable that the small armament which Demosthenes required, for accomplishing this purpose, never sailed.

In the mean time Philip, finding his designs were discovered, employed means to lull the Athenians into security, and to foster the supineness of his enemies. For more than two years the Macedonian monarch was induced, by motives of sound policy, to confine himself within his dominions, that he might dissipate the clamours which his too great precipitation in seizing the gates of Greece had occasioned. He spent his time at Pella in cultivating the arts of peace, and encouraging them with munificence. His inactivity deceived the Athenians; and they indulged themselves, without reserve, in their favourite amusements. They neglected to assist the Phocians, and even to prosecute in any manner the war with Philip, in which they might justly be considered as principals. The eloquence of Demosthenes had no effect, and was unable to resist the popular torrent.

In the mean time the Olynthians, whom the Macedonian monarch appeared to have forgotten, perceived that many of their citizens grew rich and great in a manner equally sudden and unaccountable. The unexpected invasion of their city by Philip, however, made known to them the cause of this great influx of wealth. The influence of those who had become rich by betraying the secrets, exposing the weakness, and fostering the unseasonable security of their country, recommended them to Philip, whose bribes tended still more to increase that influence. In this emergency, the Olynthians immediately dispatched ambassadors to Athens; for they knew well that to attempt, with ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, to repel the ravagers from their territory, would be impossible. The deputies, when they arrived at Athens, inveighed against the perfidy of Philip, who had first sought their protection, then deceived, and now invaded and attacked them. They desired, therefore, by virtue of the alliance which subsisted between the two states, that the Athenians would assist them against a daring and treacherous tyrant.

Demosthenes seconded their proposals with his usual eloquence; but was opposed by Demades and other hirelings of Philip. The people of Athens, therefore, animated to their duty on the one hand by Demosthenes, and seduced from their interest on the other by the corrupted orators, pursued a middle course; and sent Chares with a fleet and two thousand mercenaries, to the assistance of their allies. This commander, whom the people idolized, was the disgrace of his country and of his profession.

He

He shewed no inclination to protect the Olynthians from the attack of the enemy; and their dependent provinces, therefore, soon fell into the hands of Philip.

In the mean time, the Olynthians were shut up within their walls; and had lost several very considerable cities of strength, with some inferior towns, which had been ready to receive the bribes of Philip, and to open their gates to the invader. The shameful venality of those places, which were well provided for defence, made the Macedonian monarch observe that he would thenceforth consider no fortresses impregnable which could admit a mule laden with gold. In this emergency the Olynthians resolved to attempt a negociation, until they could send again to request the assistance of the Athenians. Philip penetrated their designs, and dexterously turned their arts against themselves: he affected to give attention to their proposals, until he had approached within a very short distance of their walls; and then he declared that of two things one was extremely requisite—namely, that either *they* must quit Olynthus, or *he* Macedon. Philip was often used to flatter, but never to threaten, without fulfilling what he said. This explicit declaration, therefore, convinced the Olynthians that the suspicions they had long entertained were too justly founded, and that the utter destruction of their city was at hand. They made a vigorous sally, however, against the besiegers with their cavalry; but were repulsed with great loss.

The Olynthian ambassadors having made known the object of their mission, the Athenians dispatched to their assistance a body of four thousand foreign infantry, with a hundred and

fifty horse, under the command of Charidemus. These troops, however, were far from being serviceable to the Olynthians: their cowardice made them contemptible, and their licentiousness dangerous. Under these circumstances that people sent a third time to Athens, and requested that a body of Athenian citizens might be sent to their relief; but, before the auxiliaries from Athens could arrive, Olynthus was compelled to submit through the treachery of her own citizens. Philip entered triumphantly, plundered and demolished the whole city, and dragged the inhabitants into captivity. Lasthenes, Euthycrates, and their associates, who were the means of admitting the enemy, shared even a worse fate; being abandoned to the rage of the soldiers, who slew them immediately.

B. C. 348.

By the conquest of Olynthus, Philip became possessed of the whole region of Chalcis, and the northern coast of the Ægean sea. His dominions now were bounded on the north by the Thracian possessions of Kersobleptes; and on the south by the territory of Phocis, a province that actually comprehended the straits of Thermopylæ. Besides the general motives of interest that induced Philip to extend his dominions, he saw the importance and advantage of possessing himself of Thermopylæ and the Hellespont; the former was properly and emphatically styled the gates of Greece, and the latter was the means of communication between that country and the Euxine, from whose shores the inhabitants of the Grecian communities drew supplies of corn. He perceived therefore that it was his particular interest to engage as a principal in the Phocian war;

war; which would naturally secure to him the possession of those two important places, without which it would be impossible to accomplish what had been the great and constant object of his reign.

The Thebans, finding themselves unable to terminate the war which they had so long carried on, sent a deputation to Philip, to request that he would march an army against the sacrilegious Phocians, and reduce them to submission; while, on the other hand, the confederates in alliance with Phocis sought his friendship and protection. But though the Macedonian monarch was ready to favour the Thebans, whose interest in the present instance was inseparable from his own, he delayed to answer either party for some time, but kept them both in dependence. He, however, treated the deputies of all the three republics, Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, with apparent frankness and cordiality, though their designs were so widely different.

At length he ventured to assure the Theban ambassadors in private, that his arms should be employed in recovering for them the towns that had revolted from their capital; and which had, during the invasion of Bœotia, readily submitted to the Phocians. The inhabitants of Phocis, he said, had justly deserved the vengeance of Heaven, and were objects of the divine displeasure; to punish them, therefore, would be as honourable and meritorious an act as it would be base and impious to protect them. In these declarations Philip was certainly sincere; because the views of Thebes were so far conformable to his own.

But there were other points in which the in-

terest of Macedon and of Thebes was widely different. To gain his purposes without offending his allies was what Philip chiefly aimed at. He therefore caressed and flattered the ambassadors, but in vain. Money was offered them with a profuse liberality; but even the address of the Macedonian king could not make these bribes acceptable. The Theban deputies refused with scorn the proferred wealth, and maintained to the end of their mission their integrity and firmness of conduct. Philon, in the name of his colleagues, told Philip that they were very well convinced of his friendship, independently of the presents which he offered them: and that it would be most proper to reserve his generosity for their country, since the favours conferred on Thebes would render that republic and its ministers grateful and obedient.

On the contrary, all the Athenian ambassadors, except Demosthenes, received the bribes of the Macedonian monarch: and were easily persuaded that Philip was inclined in favour of their republic, and that he sincerely pitied the unfortunate condition of the Phocians; that he detested the insolence of the Thebans; and that if he marched his army to the straits of Thermopylæ his expedition would be more dangerous to that state than to its enemies. At present, indeed, he observed, certain reasons induced him to cultivate the friendship of a people who set no bounds to their ambition; but he was determined to defer no longer the ratification of a peace with Athens. He only wished that, in order to save appearances, the Phocions might not be mentioned in the treaty. The Athenians thus brought this arduous work to a conclusion, and th e

the ambassadors, upon their return home, informed their fellow-citizens that Philip in a few days would pass the straits of Thermopylæ; not with an intent to punish the Phocians, but the Thebans, who had been the real authors of the war.

In the mean time the Phocians being led to consider the negociations of the Athenians with Philip as productive of great advantage to themselves, received the Macedonian monarch as their deliverer. Philip had passed the straits of Thermopylæ, and the Athenians expected that he would turn his arms against Thebes. He soon, however, undeceived them; and commanded his troops to wear crowns of laurel, thereby declaring themselves engaged in the service of Apollo, and the avengers of the sacrilegious violation of his temple. The Phocians, terrified at the appearance of the powerful army of Philip, dismissed all thoughts of defence, though Archidamus, the Spartan king, had marched some Lacedæmonian troops to their assistance. They therefore submitted themselves to his mercy, without any opposition. Phaleucus, who commanded eight thousand mercenaries, was permitted to retire into Peloponnesus; and as the judgment to be passed upon the Phocians was a matter which concerned all Greece, it was referred to the Amphictyonic council. By their decree the walls of three Phocian cities were demolished; the people were commanded to retain no fortified places, and to inhabit the villages only; and were enjoined the payment of a yearly tribute of sixty talents, and to make use of neither horses nor arms until they had repaid into the B. C. 346.

treasury at Delphos the money which they had sacrilegiously taken from thence. They were also rejected from being members of the Amphictyonic council, and the Macedonians were elected in their room.

Philip proceeded to execute the decree of the Amphictyons with inflexible cruelty; and the silence with which all this was done seemed more dreadful than the tumultuary ravages of the fiercest war. After their cities and houses were destroyed, the inhabitants were driven like herds of cattle to the settlements allotted them, and compelled to cultivate the fields for the benefit of their stern and unrelenting masters. At the distance of three years, Phocis presented a piteous sight of unexampled devastation. The youth and men of mature age had perished in the war, or been dragged into captivity; the once flourishing and populous cities were rased to the ground; and the villages were thinly inhabited by women, children and wretched old men, whose silent but emphatic sorrow exceeded all complaints which they could have uttered, and fully bespoke the misery of their condition.

CHAP. XVII.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Conclusion of the Phocian War to the death of Philip.

NO sooner did the intelligence of these melancholy events reach Athens than a general consternation seized the citizens. Their deputies

deputies had not been summoned to the council which decided the fate of Phocis. The people assembled to examine the state of their harbours and shipping: and immediately passed a decree that the Athenians who generally resided in the country should be summoned to the defence of the city; that all within the distance of twelve miles should transport their persons and most valuable effects into Athens or Piræus; and those, whose situations were farther distant, should convey themselves and their property into the nearest fortresses, and places of greatest strength in the Attic territory. They seemed inclined to call in question the election of Philip into the council of the Amphictyons, and every thing indicated approaching hostilities.

Demosthenes, however, prevented matters from coming to an open rupture. He told them that, though he was not inclined to the pacific measures which had been concluded, he was nevertheless friendly to the observance of the treaty. That at present the contest would be very unequal; for they would have to contend not only with the Macedonian monarch, but with several states of Greece, that were now become confederates with him. These remonstrances had their proper effect; and they saw the impossibility of attempting now what, not long before, they might easily have effected.

In the mean time Philip, having terminated the sacred war in a manner so favourable to his wishes and ambition, had his statue erected in the temple of Delphos; and, by a solemn decree of the Amphictyonic council, the kingdom of Macedon was appointed the principal member of that body. Games and festivals were also performed,

performed, at which Philip presided; but, though most of the Grecian states sent their representatives, the Athenians, indignant at the conduct of the Macedonian monarch, abstained wholly from the festival.

By his intrigues, Philip gained more advantages over his enemies than a long series of victories could have procured him. The conquest of Greece was at present the object of his attention, though he had long meditated the invasion of Asia. He was, however, unwilling to attempt new conquests, until he had completely established those he had already acquired. But, instead of rousing the dangerous resentment of the Grecian nation, whom he was ambitious to subdue, he wholly disarmed their hostility, and threatened with the combined force of all the other states the only republic that durst oppose his measures. He therefore considered it as the most proper mode of conduct to abstain from all farther hostilities at present, to withdraw his army from the territories of Greece, and not to attempt effecting by a premature force what a seasonable policy might safely accomplish.

Philip marched his army into Illyria; the inhabitants of which country had, during the operations in Greece, harassed the frontiers of Macedonia, and threatened a formidable invasion of that kingdom. He no sooner returned from this expedition, in which he was as usual victorious, and extended the boundaries of his kingdom in that part, than he made an incursion into Thessaly, and finally settled the affairs of that country. He took upon himself the whole management of the revenue; and divided the territory into four governments, that he might thereby

thereby weaken the force of opposition, and render the whole province completely dependent on Macedon.

The fame of Philip's achievements disposed his subjects to hope for every thing from his conduct, and all the neighbouring states to solicit his friendship. The prudent monarch, therefore, always intent upon extending and establishing his conquests, marched an army into Thrace. By his victories in those parts, he greatly incommoded the Athenians. Diopithes, who had the government of the Athenian colonies in Thrace, perceiving the designs of Philip, did not wait for instructions from his country before he resolved to oppose them. Having, therefore, raised a sufficient body of troops, he took advantage of the king's absence, invaded the adjacent territories of the Macedonian monarch, and wasted them with fire and sword.

Philip, whom the operations in the Chersonese detained, could not repel Diopithes by force: he therefore wrote to the Athenians, and complained of the conduct of their officers, who, in a time of peace, had entered his territories, ravaged the country, and committed such depredations as could scarcely have been justified by mutual hostilities. The creatures of Philip at Athens supported, with all their eloquence, the charges urged against Diopithes. They insisted that, unless he should be recalled from his government, for this infringement of the peace, the Athenians could not hope to preserve the friendship of Philip, or that of any other state. Diopithes was also impeached of extortion and piracy, and of levying contributions upon the friends and allies of Athens.

Demosthenes

Demosthenes undertook the defence of the accused general, whose conduct and measures he warmly approved. His arguments and remonstrances were attended with success; for not only was Diopithes preserved by the powerful eloquence of the orator, but the Athenians were animated with a degree of vigour which they had been long unaccustomed to exert. They equipped a fleet under the command of Callias; and that commander seized all Macedonian ships as lawful prizes, and, making a descent on the Thessalian coast, plundered the harbours in the Pelasgic gulf: but Philip, whose designs against several cities in the Propontis and Euxine were now ripe for execution, would not be diverted from his purpose by any secondary considerations.

In the mean time, the divisions which existed among both the inferior and the more powerful states of Peloponnesus, gave Philip a pretext for intermeddling in the affairs of those communities. These divisions were occasioned by the Spartans, who had laboured for some time, with great attention, to extend their pretentions and power over the territories of Messenia, Argos, and Arcadia. The complaints of these states were inflamed into hostilities by the Thebans; who were the natural enemies of Sparta, and closely allied with Macedonia. The Thebans applied to Philip, requesting that he would not suffer their confederates in Peloponnesus to be oppressed by the Spartans. The Amphictyonic council by a decree abetted the proceedings of the Macedonian monarch; and required him to check the insolence of Sparta, and protect those defenceless communities.

Thus

Thus encouraged by the resolution of the Amphictyons, but more impelled by his ambitious views, Philip marched an army toward Peloponnesus. In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians represented to the Athenians the dangerous tendency of the league that was thus formed, and asserted that it would be equally hurtful to Athens and to Sparta. In consequence of their representations, together with the arguments which Demosthenes urged in favour of such an union, a confederacy was entered into between Athens and Sparta.

But, while the two states were employed in deliberating upon these measures, Philip, unobserved and unopposed, landed with a fleet in Laconia, and ravaged the most valuable part of the Lacedæmonian territories.

Unwilling, however, to drive to despair the disciples of Lycurgus and descendants of Leonidas, he returned toward Macedonia, after having freed the other states from the Spartan yoke.

The Macedonian king, whose restless and ungovernable disposition never suffered him to take any repose, now turned his thoughts to the subjection of Eubœa. This place he had long considered, from its situation and contiguity to the Attic territory, as extremely favourable to the designs he meditated against Greece. In the beginning of his reign he had endeavoured to possess himself of it: every engine was set to work in order to seize upon that island, which he used to call the shackles of Greece. His intrigues, and the dilatory conduct of the Athenians, effected his purpose. Under pretence of sending thither some troops, who might deliver Eubœa from the tyranny and extortions of Mœsosus, the Athenian commander, he landed such

a body

a body of forces as proved sufficient, with the assistance of his adherents in the island, to expel the Athenians.

The recent prevalence of the Macedonians had been marked with numerous acts of violence and oppression. Many of the cities prepared to rebel; and for that purpose dispatched emissaries to the several communities of Greece, soliciting assistance from those states which they had reason to deem favourable to their views. The Athenians, chiefly by the influence of Demosthenes, sent a considerable body of troops, under the command of the brave and virtuous Phocion.

This man had already acquired great reputation as a general, and still more as an orator. He had studied in the academy under Plato, and his manners were formed upon the models of the most rigid virtue. His outward appearance was forbidding; but his conversation was agreeable and entertaining. Every word and action expressed the utmost affection and benevolence. He applied himself to the study of eloquence, and was very successful. His reasoning was so powerful that even the energy and dignity of Demosthenes were obliged to yield to it.

Phocion perceived that the indolence and unsteadiness of the Athenians rendered them incapable of contending with the unceasing activity of Philip and it was from this conviction that he continually exhorted his countrymen to gain and cultivate the friendship of a prince against whom they could not make war with any prospect of success. The command, however, which they offered him, he always considered it his duty to accept, even though he disapproved the expedition.

petition. Forty-five times was he chosen to lead the armies of the republic, though he never once requested or made interest for the office, and was generally appointed during his absence from Athens; and it was matter of no small astonishment that, notwithstanding the severity of his morals, and his opposition to the will and caprice of the people, the Athenians should be so partial to him: but the opinion they had formed of his probity and merit induced them to seek his assistance in times of public danger, for their own sake, and not for his.

Phocion accordingly sailed with the armament to Eubœa. Demosthenes, the orator, accompanied him; and, addressing the popular assemblies in almost every city of the island, inflamed the inhabitants with such animosity against Philip that little remained for the general to achieve. The Eubœans every where took arms, attacked the Macedonian garrisons, and compelled them entirely to evacuate the island. For this action Demosthenes was honoured by his countrymen with a golden crown.

The loss of Eubœa was ill compensated to Philip by the military operations which he was then carrying on against Perinthus. Having scoured the plain with his cavalry, he exhausted in the siege of that place all the military skill known to the ancients. He raised towers forty cubits high, undermined the fortifications, and made use of the battering rams in effecting a breach in the walls; but, notwithstanding all his endeavours, the inhabitants of Byzantium contrived means to throw succours into the place. Philip, therefore, formed the resolution of besieging that city also; and his perseverance

would probably have surmounted every obstacle, had not Phocion arrived to the assistance of the besieged.

Phocion was received by the Byzantines with open arms. They expected that, under such a commander, their auxiliaries would be as modest and inoffensive in their quarters as they would be active and intrepid in the field. Nor were they disappointed in their expectation. The arms of Philip were foiled in every rencounter; his artifices were met and eluded by similar address; nor could he expect to obtain any advantage over an opponent equally brave and prudent. The Macedonian monarch, therefore, whose flexibility in varying his measures was equal to his firmness in adhering to his purposes, raised the siege of Byzantium, and evacuated the northern shore of the Propontis.

B. C. 339. Phocion retook such places as were garrisoned by the Macedonians, captured many ships, and ravaged with fire and sword the hereditary dominions of Philip. Great and solemn honours were decreed to Athens on account of these meritorious services; and Phocion who executed, and Demosthenes who advised the measure, in consequence of which so much glory was acquired, received the grateful applause of their country. Many years after this, the orator boasted that the Athenians could not name any other counsellor, and any other statesman, by whose means the republic had been so much honoured.

Philip now marched his army against Atheas, a Scythian prince, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent. He totally defeated the Scythians in a general engagement, and

and obtained from them much booty. This, however, did not consist in gold or silver, the use and value of which that people were not as yet so unhappy as to know; but of arms, chariots, twenty thousand captives, and a greater number of mares intended to replenish the studs of Pella.

While Philip marched southward, at the head of an army encumbered with baggage and spoil, a very unexpected event happened, which had nearly blasted all his laurels, and terminated at once his glory and his life. The Triballi, allured by the hope of sharing the plunder of the Scythians, laid ambushes for the Macedonians, and vigorously assaulted them, entangled as they were amidst the intricate windings of the mountains of Masia. Philip encouraged by his voice and example his astonished and disheartened troops; and fought with unexampled bravery, until a weapon pierced his horse, and laid himself senseless on the ground. Alexander, who fought near him, saved the life of his father by covering him with his shield, and defending him by his sword; and the Triballi were finally routed.

After this unforeseen delay, Philip marched in haste through Thrace; and, as he had reason to expect, was met by deputies from the Amphictyonic council, by whom he was appointed general of their forces, and requested to proceed towards Greece with all convenient speed. The secret practices and intrigues, which had been ripening during the Scythian expedition, produced this extraordinary message; which also, as they formed the source of a tragedy

that involved the fate of Greece, deserve to be distinctly unravelled.

Philip, who was accurately informed that the Athenians were making great preparations for carrying on a vigorous war with him, became greatly alarmed: but, though he was highly provoked at the conduct of this people, who were the continual opposers of his greatness, he knew not how to retaliate their injuries. If he marched to attack Attica, through the Theban and Thessalian territories, the inhabitants of those states, who were ever selfish and capricious, would be ready to join his enemies on the least appearance of his failure; his late unfortunate expedition, against the cities of the Propontis, rendered such an attempt extremely unfavourable; and as the Athenian far exceeded the Macedonian fleet there was no prospect of attacking successfully the enemy by sea.

In this emergency, he was applied to by an exile named Antiphon; who, having surreptitiously usurped the rights and honours of the city of Athens, had been driven from thence with ignominy. Stung with disappointment and rage, he offered to execute any enterprise, however bloody or desperate. It was therefore agreed that Antiphon should return in disguise to Athens, insinuate himself into the Piræus, and lie there concealed, until he found means to set fire to the Athenian docks, and thus destroy at once the chief hope of the republic. While, therefore, the artful Philip eluded the power of his enemies by traversing the wilds of Scythia, the insidious Antiphon lodged himself without suspicion in the harbour of Piræus. The place glowed

glowed with the ardour of preparation; and new masses of tar, timber, and other materials proper for the fleet, and for the purpose of the traitor, were daily accumulated. The vigilance, however, of Demosthenes discovered the desperate design; and Antiphon was dragged from his concealment, and forced by the torture to a reluctant confession of his intentions.

The other scheme of Philip unhappily succeeded, and in its consequences destroyed the liberties of Greece. He procured Æschines, one of his creatures, to be sent as deputy from Athens to the Amphictyonic council. By the time that he had taken his seat in this assembly, a question arose whether the Locrians of Amphissa had not been guilty of sacrilege and impiety, in plowing the fields of Cirrha, situated in the neighbourhood of the temple at Delphos. The sentiments of the deputies differing on this subject, Æschines, in the ardour of patriotic indignation, which he knew how to assume, harangued the council in a speech as energetic as Demosthenes himself ever uttered. He read to the assembly the decree of Apollo, which condemned the harbour and lands of Cirrha to perpetual desolation.

The warmth of Æschines occasioned a tumult in the council; at length, however, it was resolved that the houses and plantations on the Cirrhean plain should be destroyed. The persons appointed by the Amphictyons to perform this pious devastation met with no opposition; but, on their return toward the temple, they were overtaken and attacked by a numerous party of Amphisseans, who took many prisoners, and pursued the rest to Delphos. The signal of war

was now raised; and Æschines, that he might finish what he had so well begun, procured the council of the Amphictyons to nominate Philip general of the army to be employed against the impious Amphisseans.

Though the Macedonians alone seemed far more numerous than was necessary to reduce the Amphisseans, Philip dispatched circular letters throughout most parts of Greece, requiring the assistance of their combined arms to revenge the cause of the Amphictyons and of Apollo. The Thebans, more intimidated by a powerful army in their neighbourhood than inclined to the Macedonians, sent a small body of forces to join the troops of Philip. But the Lacedæmonians, who had long beheld the measures of Greece with disgust, and envied the power of Macedonia, which they were unable to oppose, determined to adhere to a strict and sullen neutrality. The Athenians, awakened by the powerful eloquence of Demosthenes to a just sense of their danger, opposed Philip with ten thousand mercenaries; and despised the threats of the oracle, against those who took part with the Amphisseans. Demosthenes asserted that, on this occasion, the Pythian priestess and her ministers were bribed to *Philippise*, or to prophesy as best suited the interests of Philip; while, on the other hand, Æschines accused his adversary of receiving sums of money, and an annual pension, to abet the impiety of Amphissa. Philip waited for no other reinforcement than that which he had received from the Thebans; but immediately besieged, took, and garrisoned that unfortunate city. He also attacked the Athenian mercenaries, put them to flight, and spread the

the terror of his arms over all the neighbouring country.

When intelligence of these events was received at Athens it occasioned great consternation. The citizens, who before could not tear themselves from their pleasures that they might defend Amphissa, now considered the moment as approaching, in which it would be necessary to defend their own walls against the victorious invader. An embassy was almost immediately sent to Philip, craving a suspension of hostilities; at the same time, also, their ablest orators were dispatched to rouse the animation of the Greeks, and to unite them against a barbarian, who, under the pretence of avenging the injuries of Apollo and of the Grecian states, meditated nothing less than the complete subjugation of their common country. Many of the communities of Greece received the ambassadors favourably; but Thebes fluctuated between uncertain councils, and equally hated the rivalship of Athens and the tyranny of Philip. It was necessary that the Macedonian monarch should march through the Theban territory before he could invade Attica. The decision, therefore, of that people was, at the present moment, of peculiar importance.

That he might fix their wavering irresolution, and awaken their sensibility, Philip seized upon Elatæa, a city in the Theban territory of considerable importance. It was late in the evening when the Athenians were made acquainted with this action of the Macedonian monarch; and the tumult which the news occasioned in the city may be more easily conceived than described. Before dawn, however, the confusion ceased; the

the citizens assembled, the senators took their places, and the president formally reported the alarming intelligence that Philip had seized upon the city of Elatæa, distant only two days march from Attica: a herald then, according to custom, proclaimed "That whoever had any thing to offer on the present emergency should ascend the rostrum, and propose his advice." The invitation, though frequently repeated, was received with silence and dismay. The magistrates, the generals, and the orators, were all present; but none obeyed the summons, which Demosthenes calls the voice of their country imploring their assistance.

At length, however, that accomplished orator arose, undaunted and unmoved amid this scene of horror. By his speech, he obtained the noblest triumph of patriotism; and proposed advice equally prudent, generous, and successful. He told the Athenians that had not the Thebans been hostile to the designs of Philip he would have seized some city, not on the Theban, but the Athenian territory. He exhorted them to shake off that unmanly terror which had surprised them, and to fear rather for their neighbours, whose territories were more immediately threatened; and then continued, "Let your forces march without delay to Eleusis; and prove to the Thebans and to all Greece that, as those who have betrayed their country are supported by Philip, so you are ready to protect, with your hereditary courage and fortune, all that will fight for the liberty of Greece. Let an embassy at the same time be sent to Thebes, to remind its citizens of the many favours conferred upon them by your ancestors; to assure them

them that you consider them as friends, and to inform them that the Athenians have forgot all recent hostilities with Greece, and will never forsake the cause of their common country, which is at present, in a peculiar manner, the cause of Thebes. Offer them, therefore, your services at the present juncture; and require nothing for whatever you can now render them: assure them that you are sensible of the dangers to which they are exposed, and ready to defend them to the utmost of your power."

These proposals of Demosthenes were received with universal applause; and the orator drew up a formal decree for carrying them into execution, which may be considered as the expiring voice of a people who had determined that, when every thing mortal perished, the fame of Athens should still survive. Demosthenes was instantly chosen to head the embassy which he had so strongly recommended. The same undaunted spirit that dictated the decree accompanied the Athenian orator to Thebes; and he triumphed over the intrigues of Amyntas and Clearchus, and the eloquence of Python, who were the emissaries and creatures of Philip. The citizens of Thebes passed a decree that the proffered assistance of Athens should be received with gratitude; and the Athenian army, having soon after taken the field, was admitted within the Theban walls, and treated with the greatest kindness.

In the mean time, Philip having advanced towards the Bœotian frontier, the confederates attacked his advanced parties, and routed them in two rencounters. Regardless of these losses, he marched his army, consisting of thirty-two thousand

sand men, to the plain of Cheronæa. This plain was considered by Philip as admirably suited to the operations of the Macedonian phalanx. The ground for his encampment, and afterward the field of battle, were chosen with equal skill. Near the place, and within view, was a statue of Hercules, who was the founder of his race: some oracles had also announced that this should be the scene of desolation and woe to Greece.

On the other hand, the Athenians had left their city, inattentive to any other omen than the cause of their country. The combined army amounted to thirty thousand men, animated by the noblest design, the emancipation of their country from the yoke of tyranny. Their generals, however, whose names were Chares, Lysicles, and Theagenes, were men very unfit for their station; all creatures of cabal, tools of faction, and slaves of interest or voluptuousness: As they were appointed to command the only states whose shame, rather than virtue, opposed the public enemy, it is sufficiently evident that Greece was ripe for destruction.

The day now approached for abolishing the tottering independence of those republics, whose internal vices and the arms and intrigues of Philip had for twenty-two years been gradually undermining. Before the sun was risen, both armies were in battle array: Philip headed the right wing of his forces, which was opposed to the fury of the Athenians; and his son Alexander, then only nineteen years of age, surrounded by experienced officers, commanded the left wing, which faced the Sacred Band of the Thebans. The auxiliaries of each army were placed in the centre. The Athenians, at the beginning of

of the action, charged the enemy with great impetuosity, and repelled the opposing divisions; but the youthful ardour of Alexander bore down all before him, and compelled the Thebans to retire, after the Sacred Band had been cut off to a man. The activity of the young prince soon put the enemy to the rout, and he pursued the scattered multitude with his Thessalian cavalry.

In the mean time the Athenian generals, too much elated by their success, neglected to improve it. They had repelled the centre and one wing of the Macedonians; and nothing now remained but the phalanx, commanded by Philip in person. Instead, however, of attempting to break this formidable body, the insolent and inexperienced Lysicles cried out, "Pursue, my brave countrymen! let us drive the cowards to Macedon." Philip perceived their error, and said, "The enemy know not how to conquer." The phalanx then attacked the Athenian troops, whose confidence of success had rendered them insensible of danger. The irresistible shock of the Macedonian column converted their fury into despair. More than a thousand fell; two thousand were taken prisoners; and the rest escaped by a precipitate and shameful flight. Here it was that the great orator and statesman whose eloquence and patriotism had roused the courage of his countrymen, betrayed that weakness which tarnished the glory of his character. Of all the Athenians, he alone advanced to the charge cold and dismayed; but as soon as the Macedonians repelled their adversaries, in an agony of grief and despair he turned his back, cast away his shield, and fled with the foremost. Few of the confederates perished; but more of the

the Thebans were killed than taken prisoners. Philip, perceiving his victory complete, commanded (with a clemency unusual in that age) that the vanquished should be spared. This was an action not less honourable to his head than to his heart; and his humanity subdued the minds and gained the affections of his conquered enemies, whose glory was now sunk to rise no more. B. C. 338.

After the first transports of his joy were over, the Macedonian monarch dispatched his son Alexander, and Antipater the most confidential of his ministers, to offer peace to the Athenians, on terms more favourable than they had reason to expect: but the Thebans deeply experienced the indignation of the conqueror. Philip considered himself as entitled to treat that people, not as open and generous enemies, whose attempts to retain their freedom deserved his clemency, but as faithless and insidious rebels, on account of their having deserted his alliance. He punished the republican party in Thebes with unrelenting rigour; restored the traitors, whom they had banished, to the first honours of the republic, and, in order to establish and secure their government, he placed a garrison of Macedonians in the Theban citadel.

As soon as it was known at Athens that their countrymen had been completely discomfited at Chæronæa, the whole city was filled with tumult and confusion; but, when the disorder ceased, the people seemed universally inclined to place the whole of their confidence in arms, and none in the mercy of Philip. Hyperides, the orator, proposed, that their wives, children and

and most valuable effects, should be sent to Piræus. This was decreed; and the rights and freedom of the city were bestowed on strangers and slaves, provided they would exert themselves in repelling the enemy. Demosthenes also obtained a decree that the walls and fortifications of the city should be repaired; a work which the orator, being appointed to superintend, generously accomplished at the expence of his private fortune. The wisest persons of the community, however, saw the prudence of accepting the peace offered by Philip; accordingly, ambassadors were sent to treat with that monarch, upon the terms he himself proposed.

Demosthenes was appointed to pronounce the funeral oration in honour of those who had fallen at Chæronæa. But the complexion of the times admitted not those daring flights to which he had been used to soar; and the genius of the orator seems to have fallen with the fortunes of his country.

Philip, having thus completely effected the conquest of Greece, immediately turned his thoughts toward his Asiatic expedition; and, in consequence of his being president of the Amphictyonic council, and the illustrious victory he had gained at Chæronæa over the only communities that opposed his greatness, he was considered as the most fit person for conducting the united force of Greece and of Macedon. This was an office which he might have assumed without blame, but which he condescended to solicit from the impartial suffrages of the people. By their consent he was appointed general of the confederacy; and the Grecian troops, ex-

clusive of the Macedonians, amounted to two hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. So great a force, the dissensions prevalent among the Greeks had hitherto prevented them from supposing that their country could furnish.

In the midst of these designs, domestic discord shook the palace of Philip. It might be difficult to account for a misunderstanding that took place between Philip and Olympias; which occasioned him to divorce his wife, and to marry Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus. Alexander defended the rights of Olympias and of himself, with the impetuosity natural to his character. At the nuptial feast, an open rupture broke out between the imperious father and his more imperious son. Attalus told Philip, in the hearing of the young prince, that the Macedonians hoped he would now give them a lawful heir to the throne. Alexander no sooner heard these words than, in the heat of his resentment, he cried out "Wretch, do you then say that I am a bastard?" and instantly threw his goblet at Attalus, who returned the outrage with increased violence. Clamour and confusion arose; and the king, provoked at this disturbance, immediately drew his sword, and, forgetting that he was lame, made towards his son. His precipitation, and the quantity of wine in which he had by this time indulged, contributed to disappoint his rashness; and he stumbled and fell on the floor. The courtiers interposed; and Alexander, now forgetting that the person whom he addressed was his father and his prince, said, "Behold, ye Macedonians! this is the king who

who is preparing to lead you into Asia. See where, in passing from one table to another, he has fallen to the ground."

The dexterity of Philip, however, extricated him from the difficulties in which he was involved. He contrived to soften Alexander, by assuring him that his illustrious merit, which was alike known and admired in Greece and Macedon, had not escaped the anxious vigilance of a parent, who, though he had given him many rivals to the throne, thereby gave him an opportunity of surpassing them all in glory, and in the merited affection of the Macedonians. These condescensions soothed the young prince; and Olympias and Alexander again made their appearance at court, from which they had of late absented themselves. That he might announce and establish his happy reconciliation with his family, Philip gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Alexander, king of Epirus, the brother of his former queen, Olympias. Their nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence; and, during these ceremonies, the Greeks and Macedonians vied with each other in their obsequious respect towards their common general and master.

In the midst of the tumultuous proceedings of this festivity, Philip, relying on the fidelity and attachment of his subjects, frequently appeared in public without guards; but, while he was going one day from the palace to the theatre, he was stabbed to the heart by Pausanias, a Macedonian. It is uncertain whether the assassin was stimulated to commit this atrocious act by private resentment, or whether he was prompted by the ill-appeased rage of Olym-

pias, or instigated thereto by the Persian satraps, on account of the intended expedition against Asia. Alexander, however, inclined, or pretended to incline, to this last opinion; and therefore alleged the assassination of his father as a reason why he invaded the Persian empire.

B. C. 336. Thus fell Philip, king of Macedon, in the forty-seventh year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was the first prince whose life and actions the page of history hath described with such regular accuracy and detail, that his administration is rendered a subject of instruction and amusement to all succeeding ages. If we consider his character, we shall find that he possessed foresight and sagacity peculiar to himself: and that he united the several prominent features that distinguish the Grecian nation; valour, eloquence, address, flexibility in varying his measures without changing his purpose, and the most extraordinary powers of application and perseverance. If he had not been interrupted in the middle of his career, it seems more than probable that he would have subdued the Persian empire. The exploits he had already performed justify this opinion; since the invasion of Asia was a more dazzling but less difficult enterprize than the subjugation of Greece.

The news of Philip's death excited universal joy throughout Greece, and particularly in Athens. In that city the people decorated themselves with garlands; and decreed a crown to Pausanias, his assassin. The Athenians sacrificed to the Gods for this deliverance, and triumphed as if they had slain Philip in battle.

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This excess of joy was very unbecoming; and seemed an ungenerous and unmanly insult upon the ashes of a murdered prince, and of a man whom they had so lately revered, and crouched to with the greatest servility.

CHAP. XVIII.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Death of Philip to the Battle of Arbela, which secured Alexander the dominion of Asia.

ALEXANDER immediately ascended the throne of Macedon, upon the death of his father, and took possession of a kingdom which the policy of the preceding reign had rendered flourishing and powerful.

Ambition and an ardent thirst after glory, even from his most tender years, were the most prominent features in the character of the young prince. Philip valued himself much for his eloquence and the beauty of his style; and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the several victories which he won at the Olympic games in the chariot race: but this was not the kind of glory after which Alexander aspired. When his friends asked him whether he would not become a competitor for the prizes in the above games, he answered "Yes, provided that kings should be his antagonists."

Whenever news was brought to him that Philip had taken some city, or gained some great

battle, he was accustomed to say, in a melancholy tone of voice, "Friends! my father will leave nothing for us to do."

Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all such arts and sciences as were worthy the heir of a great kingdom. One of these was Leonidas, a person of austere morals, and a relation of Olympias. When they were on their journey, Leonidas would examine his trunks, in which were beds and clothes, to see whether Olympias, his mother, had not put something superfluous into them which might administer to delicacy and luxury.

In every branch of learning, which it was thought necessary that he should be taught, the young prince made an astonishing progress. The works of Homer were his particular study and delight, and continued to be so in his riper years. The Iliad he was wont to consider as the noblest production of the human mind; for he discovered in it those sentiments which were worthy of a king and of a conqueror. After the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians having found among the spoils of Darius a box of gold enriched with precious stones, in which that prince used to put his perfumes, Alexander, who was covered with dust, and regardless of those things to the use of which it had been appropriated, commanded that it should be set apart to contain the writings of Homer. He had always with him that edition of the Grecian poet's productions which Aristotle revised and corrected; and this he constantly laid, with his sword, every night under his pillow.

Plutarch tells us that he loved to converse with learned men, and to read their writings;

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two admirable sources of happiness to a prince, and which enabled him to preserve himself from numberless misfortunes, and to reign without the assistance of others. On the fine arts, such as music, sculpture, and architecture, he bestowed that attention which they seemed to deserve from a prince, and sufficient to give him an idea of their value and use. He was of a lively disposition, resolute, and very tenacious of his opinion; but would always submit to reason and good sense.

He very early became an expert horseman. Bucephalus, a noble strong Thessalian horse, which had been sent as a present to Philip, was found totally ungovernable, and no person durst venture to ride him. Alexander, however, requested permission from his father, that he might mount the unruly steed. Philip at first refused his consent: but, being pressed by the young prince, he yielded at length to his intreaties. Alexander then, springing upon the back of the horse, managed him so dexterously that all present admired and applauded him. It was on this occasion that Philip shed tears of joy; and, embracing Alexander, said, "My son, seek some other kingdom more worthy of thee, for Macedon is below thy merit." It is said that when this horse was saddled and ready for battle he would suffer no other person to mount him or go near him; that he leaned down on his knees to receive his master upon his back; that after being mortally wounded in the battle against Porus, he saved the life of Alexander, by carrying him through the crowd of enemies, and then expired; and that his master shed tears for his death, and in memory of him built

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on the banks of the Hydaspis a city called Bucephala.

A prince who is his own minister, and the only depositary of his secrets, commonly leaves an arduous task for his successor. This difficulty presented itself to Alexander, upon his ascending the throne of Macedonia; nor was this the only circumstance which rendered his situation arduous. Other competitors arose to share with him the government of the kingdom: but, having crushed these dangerous enemies, he hastened into Greece to reap the fruits of his father's labours.

Being appointed general of the combined army destined to invade Asia, he returned to Macedon, and prepared for his eastern expedition, by diffusing among the northern barbarians the terror of his name. He therefore marched his army to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night, and, attacking the Triballi in a general engagement, totally defeated them. He then prepared to meet the Getæ; but that people fled at his approach.

In the mean time, a report having been industriously spread throughout Greece that Alexander was dead, the Athenian orators displayed their usual boldness: the Lacedæmonians imagined themselves at the head of the revolt; but the Thebans committed the first acts of rebellion, and slew Amyntas and Timolaus, commanders of the citadel, and expelled the Macedonian garrison. No sooner was Alexander apprised of these proceedings than he marched his army towards Bœotia; but, as he approached Thebes, he frequently halted, that he might allow the insurgents time to repent of their

their rashness. Instead, however, of shewing any remorse for their past crimes, they sent forth their cavalry and light infantry, who assaulted and slew the Macedonian out-guards.

Exasperated by these insults, Perdiccas, who commanded the advanced party (without waiting for orders from Alexander) attacked the Theban wall; a breach was soon effected; but the enemy receiving them warmly, Alexander went with the rest of his forces to their assistance. The Thebans were then repulsed in turn; but again rallying their flying troops, they repelled the assailants, and pursued them in disorder. Alexander perceived their error, and immediately attacked them with a close phalanx. His assault had the desired effect; and the Thebans were put to the rout, and fled precipitately. Such was their trepidation that, having entered the gates of their city, they neglected to shut them upon their pursuers; and the Macedonians and their Greek auxiliaries rushed tumultuously into the place.

The Phocians, Orchomenians, and Platæans, the allies of Alexander, rejoiced at such an opportunity of gratifying their resentment against Thebes. The greater part of its citizens, amounting to more than thirty thousand, were put to the sword, or dragged into captivity; while a feeble remnant escaped to Athens. The ancient city of Cadmus was rased to the ground; but the citadel was still garrisoned by Macedonian troops, who might overawe the neighbouring territory. The severities with which Thebes was treated were occasioned by the instigation of the Grecian auxiliaries. The few acts of forbearance

B. C. 335. forbearance or mercy that appeared in this lamentable transaction flowed from the humanity of Alexander alone. By his particular orders, the house and family of the poet Pindar were saved from the general destruction.

The Macedonian monarch now prepared to return toward his kingdom; and received many congratulatory addresses from the several communities of Greece. The Athenians sent an embassy to deprecate his resentment against themselves, and to excuse their compassionate treatment of the Theban fugitives. Alexander, however, before he would submit to grant them peace, demanded that they should give up Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, with five other orators, whose inflammatory conduct had excited the seditious spirit that prevailed in Athens. An assembly was immediately summoned to deliberate on this harsh demand; and the Athenians unanimously passed a decree that the orators whom Alexander accused should be tried, and such punishment should be inflicted on them as their conduct seemed to deserve. Alexander was highly pleased with the readiness of the Athenians to avenge his quarrel, and to punish their offending countrymen. Amidst the various embassies that were sent to the king the Spartans alone maintained a sullen or magnanimous silence. Alexander despised, or pretended to despise, their conduct; and he did not even require the contingent of troops which they ought to have furnished for the intended expedition.

Alexander now thought only of marching against

against Asia. He remembered that he was chosen general of the Greeks, and that he commanded the invincible troops of his father; and therefore prepared for the greatest enterprize that was ever undertaken by any Grecian commander.

But before he set out for Asia he determined to consult the oracle of Apollo. For that purpose he repaired to Delphos, where he happened to arrive on one of those days which are called unlucky; a time forbidden for consulting the oracle. The priestess, therefore, refused to go to the temple; but Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and, as he was leading her to prophesy, she cried out, "My son, thou art irresistible." The king immediately left her, and declared that he would have no other answer.

He then appointed Antipater viceroy of Macedon and of Greece; confiding to that general an army of above twenty thousand men, to maintain domestic tranquillity in those countries. He also enquired into the affairs of his friends; and gave to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the imposts of a town, to a fourth the toll of a harbour. As the king had already disposed of and exhausted all the revenues of his demesnes by his donations, Perdiccas said to him "My lord, what do you reserve for yourself?" "Hope," replied Alexander. Upon which Perdiccas rejoined, "We ought, therefore, to be satisfied with the same hope:" and for that reason he would not accept what the king had appointed him.

Having completely settled his affairs in Macedonia,

cedonia, and used all the precautions imaginable to prevent any factions from arising during his absence, Alexander departed for Asia early in the spring. His army consisted of five thousand horse, and somewhat more than thirty thousand infantry. In twenty days march he arrived at Sestos, on the Hellespont: and from thence the army was conveyed to Asia in a hundred and sixty galleys, and a greater number of transports. The Persians, though long apprised of the intended invasion, had totally neglected all means of defending their western frontier; and the army of Alexander landed without opposition on the Asiatic coast.

B. C. 334.

The causes of this negligence in the Persians resulted in some measure from the character of their prince, but still more from that of the nation. Codomandus had obtained the throne by assassination and intrigues, about the time when Alexander became king of Macedon. In the space of about two hundred and thirty years, the Persians had been continually degenerating from the virtues that characterise a poor and warlike nation, without at the same time acquiring the knowledge and improvements which peace and opulence generally produce; and they seemed devoted to destruction still more by their ignorance of the arts of peace and war, than by their effeminacy and luxury. The provinces had ceased to maintain any regular communication with the capital; and the standing military force was insufficient to awe the distant satraps or viceroys. This mass of nations, besides, had never been properly consolidated into one system, and was ready to crumble into pieces at the shock of an invader. We have seen that, under the younger Cyrus,

Cyrus, twelve thousand Greeks baffled the arms and almost divided the empire of Persia. We should not, therefore, have much reason to admire the magnanimity of Alexander in undertaking this expedition, if we did not also know that Darius was a brave and generous prince, beloved by his subjects, and assisted by the valour of fifty thousand Greek mercenaries.

Memnon, the Rhodian, the ablest general in the service of Darius, observed to the other commanders how difficult it was to resist the Macedonian infantry; and that, as the invading army was destitute of magazines or resources, its safety only depended on sudden victory. On the contrary, it was the interest of the Persians to protract the war, and to avoid a general engagement; and the best means of stopping the enemy would be to destroy all the fruits of the ground, and to desolate the whole territory. This advice was, however, despised; and the Persian army encamped on the banks of the Granicus, and waited the approach of the invaders.

As Alexander drew near to this river, being informed by his scouts of the designs of the enemy, he advanced to give them battle. The phalanx marched by its flank in a double line; the cavalry on the wings, and the baggage and waggons in the rear. In the mean time Alexander, having received intelligence of the disposition of the enemy, and the depth of the river, advanced within sight of the hostile ranks. His horse then spread to the right and left; the massy column of infantry opened; and the whole formed along the bank of the Granicus, in order of battle. The phalanx, divided into eight sec-

tions, composed the main body which occupied the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing, and the Grecian the left. The enemy had posted their troops on the slope of a rising ground: their horse amounted to twenty thousand; and their foreign mercenaries, nearly as numerous, were placed behind the cavalry.

When Alexander had made his dispositions for fighting, Parmenio approached, and advised him not to attempt passing the Granicus in the face of the enemy. The river, he said, was deep and full of eddies; the banks were abrupt and craggy; and it would be impossible to march the troops across, with any hopes of succeeding. He therefore proposed that the army should remain for some time in its present situation. Alexander, however, determined to pass the river immediately; and, mounting his horse, assumed the command of the right wing, while Parmenio took that of the left. The king then distributed his orders; and the hostile battalions surveyed each other with resentment or terror. The trumpets sounded, and a strong detachment of cavalry entered the river, followed by the king himself with other troops of horse. When they reached the shore, the Persian cavalry behaved with courage; and the first squadrons of the Macedonians were driven back into the water: but Alexander animated the troops with his voice and arm, maintained the ground on the bank, and thought he had gained the battle when he had obtained the means of fighting.

Meanwhile Parmenio crossed the Granicus with equal success, at the head of the left wing. The attention of the enemy was so much engaged by the successive attacks of the cavalry that they

they never opposed the passage of the phalanx. Before this powerful body of infantry had crossed the river, the Macedonian horse had already obtained the fairest honours of the field. The brightness of Alexander's armour distinguished his rank; and he darted into the midst of the Persian nobles. He soon broke his spear, and demanded another from Aretas, his master of horse; but his being also broken, Demaratus, the Corinthian, supplied him with a third weapon. Thus armed, he rode up and attacked Mithridates, son-in-law of Darius, who exulted before the ranks. While Alexander beat him to the ground, he was himself struck by Rœsaces with a hatchet. His helmet, however, saved his life; and he pierced the breast of Rœsaces. At that instant, a new danger threatened him from the scymitar of Spithridates. The instrument of death was already descending on the head of Alexander, when Clitus cut off the arm of Spithridates, which fell to the ground with the grasped weapon.

The heroism of Alexander animated the whole army; and the enemy first gave way where the king commanded in person. In the left wing the Grecian cavalry must have fought with great bravery; since the Persians had begun on every side to give way, before the infantry had completely passed the river. The stern aspect of the phalanx, shining in steel and bristling with spears, confirmed the victory. Above a thousand Persian horse were slain in the field of battle. The Greek mercenaries, who composed the infantry, continued in their first position, not firm but inactive, petrified by astonishment, and irresolute what to do. The phalanx, therefore,

attacked them in front, while the victorious cavalry assailed their flanks. Thus surrounded on all sides by the enemy, they fell an easy prey. Two thousand surrendered themselves prisoners, but all the rest perished.

The battle of the Granicus proved fatal to many of the Persian commanders. Aristes, the chief, who recommended this engagement, died in despair by his own hand. B. C. 334. In this important conflict Alexander lost only eighty-five horsemen, and thirty light infantry. Of the former, twenty-five were of the royal band of *companions*. By command of the king, their statues were formed by the art of his admired Lysippus, and erected in the Macedonian city of Dia.

This great victory enabled Alexander to display alike his humanity and his prudence. The parents and children of those who had fallen in his army were thenceforth exempted from every species of tribute. He carefully visited the wounded in person. The Persian commanders were interred; and all the Greeks, both officers and soldiers. The Grecian captives were condemned to work in the Thracian mines, as a punishment for bearing arms against the cause of their country. Alexander, however, softened this severity by a very seasonable compliment to the Athenians, whose city was preferred to be the repository of his trophies and renown. Three hundred suits of Persian armour were sent immediately after the battle, as dedications to the goddess Minerva in the citadel. This magnificent present was inscribed with the following words: *Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks (except*

(except the Lacedæmonians) gained these spoils from the barbarians that inhabit Asia.

By the battle of the Granicus, a way was opened to Alexander for subduing Ionia, Caria, Phrygia, and in a word all the Asiatic provinces west of the river Halys, which once formed the powerful monarchy of the Lydians. Many of the walled towns opened their gates to the conqueror. Sardis, formerly the splendid capital of Crœsus, once more regained its privileges, and was governed by its ancient laws, after having reluctantly endured above two centuries the cruel yoke of Persia. The Grecian cities on the sea-coast were made free and independent, and relieved of the oppression of garrisons. The Ephesians were employed in rebuilding their temple, during the expedition of Alexander against Persia. This temple had been set on fire by Herostratus, above twenty years before that period, and, as it is said, the same night in which Alexander was born. Their pious and honourable undertaking was encouraged by the young hero; who, that he might accelerate the progress of the building, commanded the tribute which had been paid to the Persians to be appropriated to the temple of Diana.

Miletus and Halicarnassus were the only cities that retarded the progress of the conqueror. Memnon, the Rhodian, commanded at the latter place, and defended it with great vigour. Alexander had no sooner sitten down before it, than the garrison, consisting of Greeks and Persians, sallied out of the city; and, attacking the invaders, maintained a desperate conflict. Having repelled them with much difficulty, he undertook

the laborious work of filling up a ditch thirty cubits broad and fifteen deep, which had been drawn round the wall by the besieged with incredible diligence. After effecting this, Alexander commanded wooden towers to be advanced, upon which the Macedonians erected their batteries; by which means the besiegers were able to assault the enemy to greater advantage. A nocturnal sally from the town attacked the preparations; and an engagement ensued, in which three hundred Macedonian soldiers were slain.

Not long after, this city, which had so bravely resisted and repelled the assailants, was on the point of being taken by accident. It happened that the battalion of Perdiccas was posted on that side of the wall which faced Miletus. Two soldiers, supping together in their quarters, boasted their military exploits, each preferring his own. Heated with wine, they became emulous; and determined, not indeed with the hope of victory, but with an ambition of displaying their courage, to assault the wall of Halicarnassus. They were soon perceived by the guards of that place, who made ready to repel them; but they slew the first that approached, and cast javelins at those that followed. Before they were borne down by numbers, many of their own party had hastened to their relief. The Halicarnassians also advanced to the defence of their city; the wall was attacked; and had greater numbers joined in the assault, the city would have been taken by storm.

Alexander was unwilling to carry matters to such an extremity; but he made fresh and vigorous attempts upon the wall. Several desperate sallies

sallies were made by the besieged; who were, nevertheless, always repelled. Still they displayed the same decisive boldness which had been visible in every part of their defence. During the night they summoned together all their adherents, and set fire to a wooden tower, which had been erected as a defence against the shocks of the enemy's engines, and to protect their arsenals and magazines. Having performed this, they escaped to two neighbouring places of great strength. Alexander, having examined these castles, perceived that they could not be taken in a short space of time; and therefore was under the necessity of demolishing Halicarnassus, that it might not henceforth serve as a retreat to his enemies.

The Macedonian king, finding his fleet, though small and not sufficiently powerful to contend with the enemy, too expensive for his treasury, determined to discharge it; telling his officers that, if he were victorious by land, he could soon render himself master of the sea. According to this judicious plan of conquest, he pursued his journey through the southern provinces of the Asiatic peninsula, while Parmenio traversed the central countries of Lydia and Phrygia. Cleander was sent, at the same time, into Greece, that he might raise new levies; and those soldiers who had married, shortly before the expedition, were sent home. The last measure endeared Alexander to the army; and he found no difficulty in procuring supplies from his European subjects, towards the ensuing campaign.

After the decisive battle of the Granicus, Alexander experienced little resistance from the numerous forts and garrisons in Lower Asia. In every

every city or country that he conquered, he restored to the Asiatics their hereditary rights, and to the Greeks their beloved democracy. Whithersoever he marched, useful industry was encouraged, and public burdens were alleviated: and his taste and his piety alike prompted him to repair the sacred and venerable remains of antiquity. The barbarians were considered by him not as slaves but as subjects; and the Greeks not as subjects but as allies. This conduct of the king was such that both acknowledged the moderation and equity of his government far excelled whatever they had before experienced respectively from the despotism of Persia, and the domineering ambition of Athens and Sparta.

Having received the submission of many cities and sea-ports in Lycia, Alexander, for the greater expedition, divided the corps under his command. A considerable detachment traversed the Lydian and Pamphylian mountains, while the king in person pursued the still more dangerous road that led along the sea-coast from Phaselis to Perga. On this foaming shore the sea commonly beats against the rocks, rendering the passage impracticable except when the waves are repelled by the north wind. When Alexander began his march, the wind blew from the south: he nevertheless advanced, and hoped that he should be prosperous; and his soldiers were encouraged by many artful prodigies to expect a successful event to their undertaking. Before they had reached the main difficulties of the pass, the south wind gradually ceased; the north wind began to blow; and their march was alike easy and expeditious.

While Alexander proceeded eastward from Perga

Perga, ambassadors met him from Aspendus, the principal city and sea-port of Pamphylia. They offered to surrender their city, but requested that Alexander would not burden them with a garrison. The king granted what they desired, on condition that they should pay him fifty talents, and deliver them the horses which they reared as a tribute for Darius. These terms were accepted by the ambassadors; but their countrymen refused to fulfil the agreement. When Alexander was informed of their conduct, he marched his army towards Aspendus; the greater part of which was situated on a high and steep rock, almost inaccessible, and washed by the river Eurymedon. Several streets, however, were built on the plain, and surrounded only by a slender wall.

When the king approached the city, the greater part of the inhabitants betook themselves to the mountain. Alexander, having entered the place, encamped within the walls, and prepared for besieging the fortified part of the city. The Aspendians, seeing his intentions, became alarmed for their safety, and entreated that he would accept the former terms; but Alexander augmented the fine by fifty talents; and insisted that they should deliver up some of their principal citizens as hostages, and thenceforth obey the governor whom he should set over them, and submit to an annual tribute.

Having thus chastised the insolence and treachery of the Aspendians, the king resolved to march into Phrygia; that he might join his forces with Parmenio, who had been appointed to meet him in that country. In the same province also the new levies from Macedon and Greece

reece were commanded to meet: and it was tended to proceed eastward early in the spring, id endeavour to achieve still more important id valuable conquests.

The city of Gordium in Phrygia was appointed to be the place for assembling the troops. his city is distant about seventy-five miles from ie Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the ilician sea. It was famous in antiquity, as the rincipal residence of the Phrygian kings, and ie chief seat of their opulence and grandeur; it was more remarkable because it contained e chariot of Gordius (the original founder of greatness) the harness of which was involved in a very intricate *knot*, concerning which an acle had declared that whoever should loose it ould become master of Asia. Alexander did t attempt to untie it; but at once cut it ough with his sword, and declared that he had is fulfilled the condition of the oracle.

But though Darius had been hitherto unsuccessful, he persevered with spirit in his military parations. He assembled his troops in the ins of Babylon: they consisted of one hundred thousand Persians, of whom thirty thoud were cavalry; but when the army was pleted it amounded to six hundred thousand . Since the time of Xerxes, the magnifie and splendour of the Persians had not dished, nor had their military knowledge inied. Nothing could exceed the magnifie that surrounded their monarch. The ings of his horses; the rich materials and adjustment of his chariot; the profusion of s which covered his royal mantle, vest, and were so costly as to appear almost incredible.

dible. The dress and even the armour of his guards were adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones. He was attended on this occasion by his whole family, his concubines, and his treasurers, escorted by numerous bodies of troops. The courtiers, as usual, copied too exactly the effeminate manners and vices of their master.

Alexander, having received information that Darius had put his army in motion, proceeded from Gordium toward Ancyra, a city of Galatia. On his arrival at that place, messengers came to him from Paphlagonia, who surrendered to the king the whole of that province, but requested that he would not march his troops through their country. Alexander complied with their wishes; and commanded them to obey Calas, satrap of Phrygia. The king then reduced Cappadocia, as far as the river Halys; and proceeded forward to possess himself of Cilicia. Here were three famous streights or passes: the first at its entrance, called the Gates; the second called the streights of Amonus; and the third near the bay of Issus. The army made a rapid march, in order to possess themselves of the first of these, and encamped six miles from the Cilician frontier, at a place which, since the memorable expedition performed and described by Xenophon, has retained the name of Cyrus's camp.

Arsames, governor of Cilicia, had sent troops to guard the streight above-mentioned, called the Gates. The intelligence of this event, however, did not prevent Alexander from executing his purpose. He led part of his army, at the first watch of the night, to surprise the Persians placed

placed at the northern gate of Cilicia: at his approach the barbarians fled; and the cowardly Arsames, to whom Darius had entrusted the whole province, prepared to plunder and burn his own capital of Tarsus. But Alexander hastened to that city, and prevented its destruction; and Arsames had scarcely time to escape.

At Tarsus, Alexander was unavoidably detained by a malady, occasioned by bathing when warm in the cold waters of the river Cydnus, which runs through that city. Philip, the Acarnanian, was the only person that despaired not of his life. While this skilful physician was preparing a medicine to aid his recovery, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who had been left behind in Cappadocia, advising him to beware of Philip, who was bribed by Darius to take away his life. The king, having perused the letter, put it under his pillow: and, when Philip brought him the potion, he held out the letter, and desired him to read; at the same time drinking off the mixture with an intrepid countenance, without the least hesitation, or discovering the least suspicion or uneasiness. The physician, while he read the letter, betrayed greater signs of indignation than of fear; but he told the king, with a resolute tone, that he ought to harbour no uneasiness, and that the recovery of his health would not fail to wipe off all suspicion.

The potion at first wrought so violently that the accusation of Parmenio was strengthened by the symptoms that appeared: but at length the medicine having gained the ascendant, the king began to assume his accustomed vigour; and in about three days he was able to shew himself to his

his soldiers, by whom he was equally respected and beloved. He ever afterward testified the most extraordinary gratitude to the physician who had assisted his recovery.

The sickness of Alexander did not interrupt the operations of the army. Parmenio was dispatched to make himself master of the second pass, called the strait of Amanus, which divides Cilicia from Assyria. The king himself followed; and reached in one day Anchialos, a city of vast extent, and secured with walls of a great thickness. He then marched his troops to Mallos, an Argive colony at the eastern extremity of Cilicia. Here he was informed that Darius was with his forces in the extensive plain of Sochos. The mountains that separate Cilicia from Syria divided the two hostile armies. Alexander hastened forwards; that, having passed the straits, called the Syrian gates, he might advance to the Issus. Having therefore proceeded through that pass, he encamped before the city Mariandrus. Here he received intelligence that the Persian king, having heard of his stay at Tarsus, imputed the delay to a very different motive to what really occasioned it. The courtiers and flatterers of Darius persuaded that unfortunate prince that Alexander, in his protracted stay at Tarsus, shunned the approach of the hostile army, and was afraid to meet his antagonist in the field. The proud resentment of the Persian monarch, exasperated by the imagined fears of his opponent, was easily induced to believe the assertions of his parasites; and therefore, never thinking that Alexander would march to the strait near the Issus, and being desirous of bringing the two armies to action, he proceeded in

tated the victory of the Macedonian army. Alexander having, according to custom, exhorted the officers and soldiers, gave orders that the troops should proceed slowly, lest the phalanx should fluctuate through too eager a contention. When they came within reach of the enemy's spears, they quickened their motion; and Alexander, with his forces around him, sprung into the river. The impetuous attack of the right wing frightened the barbarians on the left, who scarcely waited the first shock; but the Greek mercenaries, who perceived that the assault was principally directed against the left wing of the Persian army, which was separated from the centre, seized the decisive moment of rushing into the interval, where the phalanx was disjointed. Here a most desperate action took place; the Greeks were anxious to regain the honour of their name; and the Macedonians were ambitious of maintaining the glory of their phalanx unsullied.

One hundred and twenty of the Macedonian officers, among whom was Ptolémy the son of Seleucus, perished in this engagement. In the mean time, the right wing of the army, having repelled the left of the Persians with great slaughter, wheeled about and attacked the Greek mercenaries, whom they finally compelled to give way. A body of Persian horse, however, still maintained the contest against the Thessalian cavalry; nor did the former quit the field until they had received information that Darius had betaken himself to flight.

In every part of the battle the discomfiture of the Persians was now visible. In the rout that ensued, their cavalry and infantry suffered greatly;

greatly: their horsemen, being heavy-armed, were encumbered by the narrowness of the roads and their own fear. It is said that the pursuers filled up the ditches with the dead bodies of the slain; and the number of the Persians who fell in this battle is computed at one hundred and ten thousand, among whom were many satraps and nobles.

Darius had discovered little obstinacy in defending the important objects that were at stake. No sooner was the left wing of his army broken, by the impetuous attack of the enemy's right, than he fled in his chariot, accompanied by a few favourites. While the country through which he had to pass was plain and open, he escaped without difficulty; but, when the road became rough and mountainous, he quitted his chariot, and mounted a horse. His shield, his mantle, and his bow, were left behind; and were found by the Macedonians. Alexander, who had been wounded in the thigh, judged it improper to pursue the flying monarch until the Greek mercenaries were first dispersed: the night, therefore, favoured the escape of Darius.

In the camp of the Persians, Asiatic luxury and opulence were alike displayed. But Darius had removed his magnificent treasures to the city of Damascus previous to the battle. The conquerors, therefore, only obtained three thousand talents of money; but the wealth which had been deposited in Damascus was afterward seized by order of Alexander. In the camp, however, were the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Sysigambis, and his infant son. In the chaste attention of Alexander to Statira, the fairest beauty of the east, his con-

duct was extremely laudable. These illustrious princesses bore their misfortunes with patience and resignation; but, when they were informed by a eunuch, that he had seen part of the mantle of Darius in the hand of a Macedonian soldier, they supposed the king had been killed, and burst into dreadful lamentations. Alexander, being made acquainted with the cause of their sorrow, sent to assure them that Darius was yet alive: and the next day he visited them in person.

The prosperity of the Macedonian monarch continued for a long time to expand his virtues; but never was the conqueror more inimitably great than after the battle of Issus. He remitted a fine which he had formerly imposed on the city of Soli in Cilicia, inhabited by a Grecian colony, upon which he had levied heavy contributions on account of its apostacy from the cause of Greece. The Athenian prisoners, whom he had taken in the battle of the Granicus, he released; a favour which he would not grant in the dawn of his prosperity. And in the city of Damascus were found many Grecian ambassadors, all of whom were now or afterward set a liberty.

In his precipitate flight across the mountains, the conquered king was gradually joined by about four thousand troops, chiefly Greeks. With this feeble escort he hastened from Sochos eastward, and passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus. The inclination of Alexander to seize the person of Darius could not divert him from the plan of military operations which he had formed. He considered that it would be improper and impolitic to proceed into Upper Asia, and

to

to attempt the conquest of Babylon, until he had subdued the maritime provinces. Having, therefore, appointed governors in Cilicia and Cœlo-Syria, he directed his march toward the south, along the coast of Phœnicia. Aradus, Marathus, and Sidon readily opened their gates to the conqueror of Darius; and he then signified to the inhabitants of Tyre that he proposed to sacrifice to Hercules in their city.

When the Tyrians received this alarming intelligence they discovered no less firmness than prudence. They immediately sent an embassy to Alexander, to assure him they had formed an unalterable resolution that neither the Persians nor the Macedonians should ever enter their city. We cannot but wonder at this boldness in a nation whose inhabitants were wholly unaccustomed to war; but the resources of their wealth and commerce seem to have heightened the courage, instead of softening the character, of the people. Their city, which, in the language of the east, was styled the eldest daughter of Sidon, had been long acknowledged the mistress of the sea. The *purple* shell fish, which is found in great abundance on their coast, gave them early possession of that lucrative branch of commerce; and the advantage of clothing the princes and nobles of antiquity was principally confined to the Tyrians. They were separated from the sea by a frith half a mile broad; and their walls were a hundred feet high, and extended eighteen miles in circumference. Their industry, together with the convenience of their situation, and the capaciousness of their harbours, made their city the commercial capital of the world. It abounded with excellent artificers

in

in wood, stone, and iron, was numerously peopled; and had large magazines of military and naval stores.

Notwithstanding the natural and artificial strength of this place, Alexander resolved to besiege it. He therefore began by running a mole from the continent to the walls of Tyre, where the sea was about three fathom deep. On the side of the continent, the work was carried on with great alacrity; but, when the troops approached the city, the inhabitants galled them with missile weapons from the battlements, and the depth of water incommoded them. The Tyrians also annoyed the workmen from their galleys; which, as they had the command of the sea, they could easily effect. To forward their labours, and at the same time resist these complicated assaults, Alexander gave orders to erect, on the furthest projecture of the mole, two wooden towers, on which he placed engines: these were covered with leather and raw hides, in order to resist the burning darts and the fireships of the enemy.

But this contrivance was soon rendered ineffectual. The Tyrians procured a large hulk, which they filled with dry twigs, pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles. Two masts were raised towards the prow, each of which was armed with a double yard; and from the extremities of these were suspended vast caldrons, filled with whatever substances were adapted for conflagration. As soon as the wind appeared favourable, this hulk was towed into the sea with two galleys; and, being brought near to the mole, the sailors set the vessel on fire, and swam to land. The works of the Macedonians were

soon

soon in a blaze; and the Tyrians, sailing forth in boats, prevented them from extinguishing the fire: by which means the labour of many weeks was reduced to ruin in one day.

Alexander, however, was not to be discouraged by this misfortune: he gave orders that a new mole should be raised, higher and broader than the first, and upon which engines should again be placed. While these operations were carrying on, he received reinforcements of troops from Peloponnesus; which arrived very opportunely to revive the courage of his men, exhausted by fatigue, and dejected by defeat. The maritime provinces, also, which he had reduced to his subjection, sent to offer their assistance in an undertaking which could scarcely have terminated successfully so long as the Tyrians possessed the dominion of the sea. By the united force of Lower Asia, Cyprus, and Rhodes, the whole armament of Alexander amounted to two hundred and twenty-four sail. The Tyrians, who had hitherto confided in their superiority, were now obliged to retire within their harbours for safety.

That people, however, were not discouraged from persevering in their defence: they attacked with showers of fiery weapons the vessels destined to advance the battering engines against their walls; and beside this, still trusting in their courage, they resolved to attack the Cyprian squadron, stationed at the mouth of the harbour which looked towards Sidon. The boldness of the design was not less than the bravery which they employed in carrying it into execution. That they might conceal their operations from the enemy, they had previously

ously fixed up sails in the mouth of the harbour. They observed that the Greeks and Macedonians were usually employed in private affairs about mid-day; and that Alexander about that time also retired to his pavilion, which was erected near the haven, and looked toward Egypt. Against that hour, therefore, the best sailing vessels were selected from the whole fleet, and manned with the most expert rowers and the most resolute soldiers, all inured to the sea, and properly armed for battle.

These proceeded for a while slowly and silently; but, when they had approached within sight of the Cyprians, they at once clashed their oars, raised a shout, and advanced abreast of each other to the attack. The Tyrians sunk many of the enemy's ships at the first shock; and others were dashed against the shore. On that day, Alexander had remained but a short time in his pavilion. When he was informed of this desperate sally of the besieged, he commanded such vessels as were ready to block up the mouth of the haven; and thus prevented the remainder of the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorious companions In the mean time, with several galleys hastily prepared, he sailed round to attack the Tyrians. The inhabitants within the city, perceiving the danger of their comrades, made signals to recal them to the ships; but they had scarcely begun to shape their course back to the city when the fleet of Alexander assailed, and soon rendered them unserviceable. Few of the vessels escaped: two were sunk at the mouth of the harbour, but the crews saved themselves by swimming.

The issue of these naval operations determined

mined the fate of Tyre. Having proved so victorious over the hostile fleet, the Macedonians now fearlessly advanced their engines against the walls of the city. Amidst repeated assaults for two days, the besiegers exhibited great ardour and courage, and the besieged were actuated by the desperateness of their situation. The towers, which the Greeks and Macedonians had raised to the height of the walls, enabled them to fight hand to hand with the enemy. By the assistance of pontoons, some of the bravest soldiers passed over to the battlements; but on those who attempted to scale the walls, with ladders, the besieged poured vessels of burning sand, which penetrated to the bone. The vigour of attack could only be equalled by the vigour of resistance: the Tyrians contrived to weaken the shock of the battering engines by green hides and coverlets of wool; and, when the enemy was so far successful as to effect a breach in the walls, the bravest were always ready to repel him from entering the place.

On the third day, the engines of the besiegers assailed the walls; and the fleet, divided into two squadrons, attacked the opposite harbours at the same time. The battering engines having effected a wide breach in the walls, Alexander gave orders to raise the scaling ladders, that the soldiers might enter the town over the ruins. Admetus, with the targeteers, was the first that attempted to mount the breach; but this brave commander soon fell: Alexander and his companions, however, following after, took possession of the wall. The two squadrons of the fleet were also successful: the one entered the harbour of Egypt, while the other forced its passage

sage into that of Sidon; but the besieged, though the enemy had possessed themselves of the walls of their city, still rallied, and prepared for defence.

The Tyrians, having taken some Grecian vessels from Sidon, had inhumanly butchered the crews upon their walls, and then thrown the dead bodies into the sea, in sight of the whole Macedonian army. This action, together with the extreme length of time to which the siege had been protracted, provoked the resentment of Alexander, and exasperated the fury of the victors. Eight thousand Tyrians were slain in the town, and thirty thousand were carried into captivity. The principal magistrates of the city, together with some Carthaginians who had come to worship the Gods of their mother country, sought refuge in the temple of Tyrian Hercules, where the clemency or piety of Alexander saved them. The Macedonian army lost four hundred men in this obstinate siege of seven months. Thus fell Tyre, that had been for many ages the most flourishing city in the world, and had spread the arts of commerce into the remotest regions.

B. C. 332.

All Phœnicia being now conquered, the submission of the neighbouring provinces of Judæa immediately followed. The progress of Alexander toward Egypt was interrupted by the strong city of Gaza; situated about five miles from the sea, upon a high hill, and surrounded with strong walls. Batis, an eunuch, was governor of the place for Darius; and, foreseeing what would happen, had provided every thing necessary for sustaining a long and obstinate siege. He had also hired Arabian troops to assist

sist the garrison in defending the city. Alexander summoned him to surrender: but Batis answered that he would defend the place to the utmost. Many of the officers advised Alexander against undertaking the siege, from an idea that the place was impregnable; but the king was unwilling to incur the danger and disgrace of leaving such a strong fortress behind him.

He therefore began the siege in form, and commanded a rampart to be erected. The garrison made a furious sally; and Alexander, who, warned by a heavenly monition, had hitherto kept himself from the reach of the enemy's darts, seeing the danger of his troops, forgot the divine omen, and received a wound in the shoulder. Soon after, the engines that had been used in the siege of Tyre arrived by sea; and the city was at length compelled to submit, but not until every man in the place had perished fighting. Their wives and children became slaves; and Gaza, being repeopled from the neighbouring territory, served as a military station to restrain the incursions of the Arabs.

Nothing now remained to impede the conqueror in his Egyptian expedition. Having therefore refreshed his soldiers, he marched into that country. The decisive victory at Issus, the shameful flight of Darius, and the reduction of Tyre and Gaza, opened him a ready passage to the wealthy capital of Memphis. The whole province immediately submitted to him; and he was acknowledged the sovereign of that nation. Continually occupied with the thoughts not only of extending but of improving his conquests, he perceived what all the boasted wisdom of Egypt had never before been able to discover,

and formed the design of founding in that land a city, which should derive from nature alone more permanent advantages than the favour of the greatest princes can bestow. He, therefore, marked out the plan of his intended capital; and such was the sagacity of his choice that Alexandria, within the space of twenty years, rose to distinguished eminence among the nations of the east, and continued, through all the subsequent ages of antiquity, the principal bond of union, and the seat of correspondence and commerce, among the civilized parts of the earth.

During his stay in Egypt, Alexander was seized with an inclination to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which enjoyed an equal authority with that which the Delphian oracle had long held in Greece, and was situated amidst the sandy desarts of Lydia. It is probable that, had he neglected to obtain the sanction of this venerated shrine, the conquest of the east would with more difficulty have been accomplished. He therefore boldly penetrated toward Lybia; despising the danger of traversing an ocean of sand, unmarked by trees, mountains, or any other object that might direct his course, or vary the gloomy and uniform sterility of the scene. The superstition of the ancients led them to believe that he was conducted on his journey by ravens or serpents; and, without supposing this any proof of a miracle, we may credit the account, because those animals might be led by instinct to frequent the well-watered and fertile spots of ground, covered with palms and olives.

The fountain, which was situated close to the temple, formed not the least curiosity, and was the

the source of the fertility of the place. At mid-day it was exceedingly cool, and warm at night. In the intervening time, regularly every day, it underwent the intermediate degrees of temperature. The adjacent territory produced a fossile salt, which was frequently dug out in large oblong pieces, clear as crystal: these pieces were enclosed by the priests of Ammon in boxes of palm trees, and given as presents to kings and other illustrious personages.

Alexander, having examined the place, consulted the oracle relative to the success of his expedition, and received a favourable answer from the deity. His purposes being thus effected, he returned to Memphis, to settle the affairs of Egypt. The inhabitants were permitted to enjoy their ancient religion and laws. He appointed two governors of that kingdom; but the principal garrisons were given to the command of his confidential friends.

In the mean time, Darius had raised an army in Assyria, far beyond any force which he had hitherto collected. Alexander, receiving intelligence of the preparations for attacking his army a third time, and considerable reinforcements from Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, having joined him, he pursued his journey eastward. He passed the Euphrates and the Tigris, and boldly marched into Assyria. Darius had pitched his tents on the level banks of the Bumellus, near the obscure village of Gangamela; but the ensuing famous battle between these two kings, which finally decided the empire of the east, took its name from Arbela, a town in the same province.

After passing the Tigris, intelligence soon

came to Alexander that some of the enemy's horse had been seen, but the number could not be ascertained. On receiving this information, he marched his troops forward in order of battle. He had not, however, proceeded far in this manner before he was informed that the hostile cavalry scarcely exceeded a thousand. The heavy armed troops were then commanded to slacken their pace, while he advanced at the head of the royal cohort and the light armed; and such was the celerity of his movement that several of the barbarians were made prisoners. From them he understood that the camp of Darius was within a few hours march. The strength of the enemy, they said, amounted to a million of foot, forty thousand horse, two hundred armed chariots, and fifteen elephants, from the eastern banks of the Indus. Others, however, with greater probability, computed the army of Darius at six hundred thousand infantry and one hundred and forty-five thousand cavalry; but it was unanimously agreed that the present forces greatly exceeded, in number, those which had fought at Issus.

This necessary information being received, Alexander rested his men four days. He then left the sick and infirm, together with all the baggage, in the camp, which was fortified; and marched with the effective part of his army, consisting of forty thousand infantry and seven thousand horse. On beholding, from some eminences, that the hostile troops were more skilfully marshalled than he had reason to expect, their appearance determined him to alter his former resolution. The infantry, therefore, was commanded to remain stationary, until a detachment

detachment of horse had carefully explored the field of battle, and examined the disposition of the enemy. These important duties were performed by Alexander in person. Having returned to the troops with great celerity, he assembled the officers of his army, and encouraged them by a short speech. All the troops testified their ardour for an engagement, and confidence of victory. He then gave orders that the soldiers should take some rest and refreshment.

It is said that Parmenio advised Alexander to attack the enemy during the night; alleging that they might be easily defeated, if fallen upon by surprize, and in the dark; but the king answered loud enough for all to hear him, that it did not become Alexander to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in open day.

In the mean while Darius, being informed that the enemy was approaching, kept his men ready for action. The plain, on which his army was encamped, extended to a great length; but he was, nevertheless, under the necessity of contracting his front, and of forming into two lines. The king himself, with the princes of the blood, and the great officers of the court, according to custom, occupied the centre of the first line. They were defended by fifteen thousand chosen men; but the Greek mercenaries flanked those guards on the right and left. The Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Sacæ, formed the right wing; and the Bactrians, Persians, and Cardusians, the left. The infantry and cavalry were promiscuously blended together; not designedly, but by accident. The armed

chariots fronted the first line; and in the centre were the elephants. Several squadrons of cavalry advanced before both wings, prepared to act according as opportunity should offer.

The Persian monarch, fearing the enemy would attack his army in the night, commanded his men to remain under arms. This unusual measure, the gloomy silence, the long and anxious expectation, together with the fatigue of a restless night, greatly discouraged the troops, and recalled to their minds the disasters they had undergone on the banks of the Granicus and the Issus.

Alexander, knowing the form and order of the enemy, disposed his troops in such a manner as prudence and experience best suggested. Two phalanxes, each consisting of sixteen thousand men, composed the main body of the army. Behind these he placed the heavy armed soldiers, reinforced by his targeteers. These had orders to move to the assistance of the flanks and rear of the first line, when those divisions should be attacked. He disposed the cavalry and light infantry on the wings; and skilful archers and darters were posted at proper intervals, principally for the purpose of aiming at the horses, or the conductors of the chariots.

He then led his troops toward the enemy in an oblique direction, by which means he avoided contending at once with superior numbers. Darius, fearing lest, in consequence of this movement, his men should be drawn gradually off the plain, gave orders to the Scythian squadrons to advance, and prevent the further extension of the hostile line. A body of horse was immediately sent from the Macedonian army to oppose

oppose them, and thus an engagement of the cavalry ensued. Both parties received reinforcements, and the barbarians were finally compelled to retire. Their chariots then advanced and bore down upon the Macedonians. The appearance of these armed carriages was at first terrifying in the extreme; but many of the conductors of them, and more of the horses, were killed before they reached the Macedonian troops: to those that did, the army opened as they had been directed, and permitted them to pass through; they were then either taken or destroyed by the body of reserve.

Darius then moved his main body; but with so little order that the infantry, mixed with the horse, advanced, and left a vacuity in the line, which his generals had not the skill to fill up. This error being perceived by Alexander, he seized the decisive moment, and penetrated the interval with a wedge of squadrons. The nearest sections of the phalanx immediately followed, greatly animated by the prospect of victory. The event of the battle, in this part of the field, was not long doubtful: the barbarians, after a feeble opposition, retired; and the pusillanimous Darius again fled with precipitation from the engagement.

But, though the left wing of the Persian army was thus completely routed, their right had almost surrounded their immediate opponents. The Persian and Indian cavalry had penetrated into the Macedonian line, and advanced to the enemy's camp; but this being perceived by the heavy armed troops and targeteers posted behind the phalanx, they speedily faced about, and, attacking the barbarian horse, put them to flight

flight. Alexander, in the mean time, receiving intelligence that his left wing was in danger, desisted from the pursuit of Darius, and advanced against the enemy's right. Here he met the Parthian, Indian, and Persian horse; and a sharp contest ensued, in which thirty of the *companions* were slain, and Hephæstion, Cænus, and Mænidas, were wounded. This body of cavalry being routed, Alexander prepared to attack the infantry: but they had been already repelled by the Thessalian horse; and thus nothing was left but to pursue the fugitives. This victory, which decided the fate of Asia, and secured to Alexander the dominion of the east, was obtained by him with the loss of only five hundred men, whilst at least forty thousand of the Persians or their allies perished in the contest!

B. C. 331.

CHAP. XIX.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Battle of Arbela to the Death of Alexander the Great.

DARIUS, after the defeat of his numerous host, escaped by a precipitate and obscure flight across the Armenian mountains into Media. He was gradually joined in his route by the scattered remains of his army, amounting to several thousands of barbarians, and fifteen hundred Greeks. The unfortunate prince intended, if Alexander should take up his abode at Suza or Babylon, to establish his court in Media.

dia. But, should the Macedonian king pursue him thither also, he resolved to proceed eastward through Parthia and Hyrcania, into the valuable province of Bactria; and, that he might oppose a formidable barrier to an invading army, he designed to lay waste the intermediate territory.

No sooner was Alexander informed of the direction that Darius had taken than he pursued him into Media; but, before he reached Ecbatana, the capital of that kingdom, he received intelligence that the royal fugitive had fled from thence five days previously to his arrival. At Ecbatana, Alexander separated his army into three divisions: a strong detachment under Parmenio was sent into Hyrcania; Cænus received orders to march with all convenient speed into Parthia; and the king himself, with the principal part of the army, advanced as expeditiously as possible to overtake Darius. He was, however, soon informed, that Bassus and two other associates, who were officers of that unfortunate prince, had laid aside all respect for him, and made him their captive. When Alexander learned this event he declared that there was still greater occasion for expedition. Having therefore left the heavy-armed soldiers behind, he hastened forward with a select band, provided with nothing but their arms and two days provisions. He had not proceeded much farther when he was informed that Bassus had assumed the honours of royalty; that most of the barbarians had acknowledged the usurper; and that the Greeks, who alone were inviolate in their attachment to Darius, were unable to afford that unfortunate king any effectual assistance.

ance. He also understood that Bassus and his associates had determined to deliver up Darius to him, if he should still follow them; but that, should he cease from the pursuit, they intended to raise forces, and divide the eastern provinces of the empire.

No sooner had Alexander received this intelligence than he dismounted five hundred of his cavalry, and, placing the bravest of his foot completely armed on horseback, he proceeded by a nearer road with the other forces that were with him. Bassus and his associates, however, perceiving that the troops of Alexander pressed hard upon them, stabbed Darius, in order to facilitate their own escape; and, notwithstanding the celerity with which Alexander hastened to his relief, the unhappy prince expired before the conqueror beheld him. Alexander ordered his body to be transported to the capital of his kingdom, and interred in the royal mausoleum; and his children were treated with that respect to which their birth entitled them. The Greek mercenaries were pardoned, and distributed into the Macedonian army; and Bassus, being soon after taken by the troops of Alexander, was treated with a barbarity that his crimes merited, but which it did not become the conqueror of the east to inflict.

In pursuit of Spitamenes, who succeeded to the ambition and dangerous command of Bassus, Alexander was carried through the vast but undescribed provinces of Asia, Bactria, Sogdiana, and other less considerable divisions of the southern region of Tartary. On several occasions the Scythians attacked his advanced parties, and interrupted his convoys. The abruptness

ness of their assault was only equalled by their skilful retreat. In numbers, courage, and stratagem, they were inferior to none: but the discipline and intrepidity of the Greeks and Macedonians finally prevailed over barbarian craft and desultory fury. Alexander passed the Iaxartes, and, attacking the Scythians in a general engagement on the northern bank of that river, completely defeated them.

The barbarians fighting singly were successively subdued; and the prisoners whom Alexander took were distributed into his army, which they thus reinforced. He then divided his troops into five formidable brigades, commanded by his generals and himself. Conus, one of the commanders, attacked and defeated Spitamenes; who was soon afterwards slain by the Scythians, and his head sent to Alexander. After the death of Spitamenes, the enemy made a feeble opposition in the plain; but two strong fortresses, in the provinces of Sogdiana and Parætacone, still continued to hold out. In the former Oxyartes, the Bactrian, had placed his wife and children. The rock was high, steep, and rugged, almost inaccessible, and prepared for a long siege; but all these obstacles were overcome by the irresistible bravery and exertions of the Macedonian soldiers.

In this castle was Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes; who was considered as one of the greatest beauties of the east. Alexander admired her form and accomplishments; but, even in the fervour of youth and the intoxication of prosperity, he disdained the cruel rights of a conqueror, and opposed the maxims and example of his age and country. He would not transgress the laws

of

of humanity or chastity; but afterward raised Roxana to the throne.

While the king was in Bactria, he understood that the Parætacians were in arms. As soon as he received this intelligence, he marched his army into that country, and laid siege to the fortress of Chorienes, where his most dangerous enemies had shut themselves up. This place was soon compelled to surrender to the valour and intrepidity of the besiegers.

By such memorable achievements Alexander subdued the nations between the Caspian sea, the river Iaxartes, and the lofty chain of mountains which supply the sources of the Indus and Ganges. The great abilities of this enterprising general were sufficiently distinguished in the conduct of this remote and dangerous war. Ever anxious to inspire his troops with a portion of that spirit which animated himself, he was continually encouraging them to the performance of daring and hazardous undertakings. By his example they were taught to despise hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger. Neither steep and rugged mountains, nor deep and rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor sickness, could interrupt his progress, or abate his activity. The courage he possessed stimulated him to still greater attempts, which in an unsuccessful commander would have been considered as acts of temerity: yet amid the hardships of a military life, obstinate sieges, and bloody battles, he generally respected the rights of mankind, and practised the mild virtues of humanity.

The nations which he subdued were permitted to enjoy their ancient laws and privileges: the rigours of despotism were softened; and the most austere

austere of the Macedonian governors were instructed by the example and compelled by the authority of their sovereign to observe the laws of justice toward the meanest of their subjects. He founded cities and established colonies on the banks of the Iaxartes and the Oxus, that he might restrain the fierce inhabitants of Scythia. The destructive campaigns, therefore, which he passed in contending with the Bactrians, Scythians, and other barbarous nations, and which are ascribed to his restless activity and blind ambition, appeared to this extraordinary man as essential not merely for securing his present but for obtaining future conquests.

During the first three years after Alexander had invaded the Persian dominions, Antipater kept Greece in tranquillity; but, being obliged to undertake an expedition into Thrace, the Lacedæmonians, who had long felt and expressed a wish to attack Macedon, seized that favourable opportunity. They procured reinforcements from other Grecian communities; and the allied army, when assembled, amounted to twenty-two thousand men: but Antipater, having quelled the insurrection in Thrace, marched with his army into Peloponnesus; and engaging the confederates defeated them, and slew three thousand, in the number of whom was the king of Sparta. From that period to the death of Alexander, Greece enjoyed an unusual degree of tranquillity. Under his sovereignty the exploits of the Greeks, though directed to other purposes, surpassed all the victories they had formerly obtained. By a singularity peculiar to their fortune, the æra of their political disgrace coincides with the most B. C. 330.

splendid period of their military glory. Alexander was himself a Greek; his kingdom had been founded by a Grecian colony; and, to revenge the injuries of the nation, he undertook and accomplished the most extraordinary enterprizes recorded in the history of the world.

Having awed into submission the barbarous and uncivilized nations inhabiting the Scythian plains and their neighbourhood, the young hero prepared early in the spring to undertake a remote and dangerous expedition against India. He appointed Amyntas governor of Bactria, and left him a force sufficient to keep in awe the surrounding provinces. He then marched toward the south with the greatest part of his army; and traversed the Paropamisus, a link of that immense chain of mountains which reaches from the coast of Cilicia to the sea of China, and which the Greeks confounded with the northern chain, of which Scythian Caucasus forms a part, and whose remote branches extend from the shores of the Euxine to the eastern extremity of Tartary. Such is the strong frame that supports the mass of Asia. The intermediate space is far more elevated than any other portion of the eastern continent; and, if we except the obscure expedition of Darius, the towering heights of Paropamisus had hitherto defended the feeble majesty of India against the inroads of invaders.

B. C. 327.

The rugged nature of the country was not the only difficulty with which the Macedonians had to contend in their journey into the territories of India. The northern regions of that continent were inhabited by men of superior strength and superior courage. The natives made a very strong

strong resistance against the army of Alexander: but, when he at length reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces, retaining the greater part of the troops under his own command; and detaching the remainder under Hephestion and Perdiccas, to clear the road to the Indus, and to make all necessary preparations for passing that river. Those generals executed the commission entrusted to them with ease and success.

In the mean time Alexander bent his march towards the Choe or Choaspes; on the banks of which he met with a warlike and barbarous people, whose cities he prepared to reduce. The Macedonians having engaged and defeated them in a general battle, Alexander accomplished his purpose. He then marched with the horse and light armed troops to the river Euaspla; on the banks of which was assembled the chief strength of the Aspians, the principal nation in those parts. Having separated his forces into three divisions, the army advanced against the enemy; who, confiding in their numbers, rushed into the plain: but the barbarians, fighting without order, were constrained to retire with the loss of forty thousand men.

He then projected an expedition for reducing the Assacenians; who were said to have an army of twenty thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, and thirty elephants, ready to oppose him. When, however, he approached the territories of this people they retired within the walls of their city; but, seeing that the forces of Alexander were not so numerous nor formidable as they at first expected, they engaged the Macedonian army in the plain. They fought with incredible

bravery; but could not sustain the shock of the Macedonian phalanx, and were exposed to great slaughter in their retreat to the city.

Near the western margin of the Indus the Bazirians, associating themselves with some others who had determined to preserve their independence, withdrew to a certain rock, which its natural position, together with their courage and experience, they expected would render a secure retreat. This fortress was called by the Greeks mount Aornos. It extended two hundred furlongs in circumference, eleven in height where lowest, and was accessible by only one dangerous path cut in the rock. On the top was a plentiful fountain of water; a fine plain, part of which was covered with a thick wood; and the rest was arable land, fit for employing the labour of a thousand men. While Alexander was preparing all things necessary for undertaking the siege of the place, an old man with his sons, who had long inhabited the summit of the rock, came to offer him their assistance, and to shew him a private way of ascending it. Ptolemy, therefore, had orders to proceed with a considerable body of troops; and to make an entrenchment in the wood, whither the old man was to direct him. Ptolemy having safely reached the place, made signals to Alexander that he had succeeded.

Both that general and the king now attacked the fortress at once, but were driven back by the enemy. Alexander therefore gave orders to cut down the trees in the neighbourhood, with which to fill up the cavities between the plain and the advanced post of Ptolemy. The Indians, seeing the enemy likely to succeed in their

their plan, sent deputies offering the surrender of the place. Alexander, having heard their proposals, suspected that they intended an escape: and no sooner therefore had they descended the mountain than he took possession of the deserted rock; and, having previously posted a proper detachment to intercept the fugitives, put them to the sword.

The Macedonians proceeded southward, from Aornos, into the country between the Cophenes and the Indus. As they advanced in this district, they were met by a deputation of citizens from Nysa. When the deputies were conducted to Alexander, who had just sitten down in his tent covered with sweat and dust, and armed with his casque and lance, they exhibited marks of astonishment and horror, and fell prostrate before him. The king, understanding that their government was aristocratical, demanded a hundred of their principal citizens as hostages, and three hundred of their cavalry to reinforce his army. Acuphis, who headed the embassy, replied, "You are welcome, O king! to three hundred horsemen, and more if necessary; but when a state has lost one hundred of its most virtuous citizens it cannot long continue in safety." Alexander therefore remitted that part of his demand, and accepted the cavalry, which accompanied him in his expedition.

On the eastern bank of the Indus, Alexander received the submission of the neighbouring princes. Of these, Taxiles, who was the most considerable, presented to the king thirty elephants, and reinforced his army with seven hundred Indian horse, and five thousand foot. The reason of his conduct is said to have been the

enmity that subsisted between him and Porus, a prince whose territories were situated on the other side of the Hydaspes.

It was about the summer solstice when Alexander reached the Hydaspes; and the waters of the river were swollen, at that season, by the melted snow which descends in torrents from Paropamisus, as well as by the periodical rains. Trusting to this circumstance, Porus, a powerful and warlike monarch, had encamped on the opposite bank of the Hydaspes with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. Alexander found it impossible to practise upon this prince as he had done upon others, and to pass the river in view of so numerous an army. He therefore collected provisions, and pretended that he intended to remain in his present position until the water in the river should decrease; but Porus was not to be deceived by this artifice.

Alexander, therefore, alarmed the enemy for many nights successively; until he perceived that Porus considered it as only a feint to harass his troops, and no longer drew out his forces as usual. This false security of the Indian king enabled Alexander to accomplish his purpose. About eighteen miles from the camp was a lofty rock, covered with trees; and near the rock an island, overrun with wood and uninhabited. Having left the Macedonian phalanx, the new levies, and the auxiliaries, with a division of cavalry, under the command of Craterus, he marched to the rock with the rest of the troops, under cover of the night. These judicious dispositions were favoured by a violent tempest of rain,

rain, thunder, and lightning. When the storm somewhat abated, the horse and infantry, in such proportions as both the boats and hides which they had prepared could convey, passed over unperceived into the island. Alexander led the line, accompanied in his vessel of thirty oars by Seleucus, Ptolemy, Perdiccas, and Lysimachus; names destined to fill the ancient world, when their renown was no longer repressed by the irresistible diffusion of their master's glory.

The king was the first that reached the opposite bank, in sight of the enemy's out-guards, who hastened to inform Porus that Alexander with his troops were passing the river. The Indian prince immediately dispatched his son with two thousand horse and one hundred and twenty armed chariots, to oppose the landing of the Macedonians. These troops, however, came too late to defend the bank; and, being attacked by the forces of Alexander, were speedily broken and put to flight. Their leader and four hundred horsemen were slain, and most of the chariots taken.

The discomfiture of these troops deeply afflicted Porus; but his immediate danger would not admit of much reflection. Craterus prepared to pass the river and attack him in front; while his flanks were threatened with the shock of the Macedonian horse, elated with victory. Porus, in this emergency, acted with equal prudence and firmness: he left part of the elephants to oppose Craterus in passing the river, and at the head of his whole army marched in person against the enemy, commanded by Alexander himself. His horse amounted to four thousand, and

and his foot to thirty thousand; but the part of his trength in which he seemed most to confide, consisted of three hundred armed chariots and two hundred elephants. Having advanced to a plain which he considered as suitable for his purpose, he there waited the approach of the invaders. He then placed the elephants a hundred feet from each other; and in the intervals a little behind the line he posted his infantry. By this arrangement, he expected that the horse of the Macedonian army would be deterred from advancing at sight of the elephants; nor did he suppose their infantry would attack his army in front, while they would be exposed to an assault in flank, and in danger of being trampled under the feet of those terrible animals. At both extremities of the line, the elephants carried wooden towers, filled with armed men; while the cavalry were posted on the wings, and covered in front with the armed chariots.

The abilities and prudence of this prince rendered him the most formidable of the barbarian enemies which the Macedonians had to encounter. But even these qualities were forced to yield to the superior degree in which they were possessed by Alexander; who made such a judicious arrangement of his forces that, in the engagement which ensued, the Indians had twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse killed, all their chariots hacked to pieces, and many elephants taken; and besides this, the unfortunate Porus lost both his sons, and most of his captains. On the other hand, we are told that Alexander lost only three hundred men in the engagement.

Porus was the last to leave the field. His flight

flight being retarded by his wounds, he was overtaken by Taxiles; whom Alexander had sent to persuade him to surrender, and to assure him that he should be treated with the utmost kindness and respect. Porus, however, disdaining the advice of an ancient and (as he believed) inveterate enemy, turned his elephant, and prepared to renew the combat. Alexander then dispatched to him Meroe, an Indian of distinction, who had formerly lived with Porus in habits of intimacy and friendship. By his entreaties the high-minded prince, overpowered by thirst and fatigue, surrendered; and having refreshed himself with drink and repose, desired to be conducted to Alexander. As soon as the conqueror knew that Porus was coming, he went with several of his friends to meet him.

The Indian king was seven feet high, exactly proportioned, of a noble aspect and majestic deportment. Alexander, therefore, admiring his martial appearance and magnanimity, desired Meroe to ask wherein he could oblige him? Porus replied, "By treating me as a king:" which being reported to Alexander, he said with a smile, "That I should do for my own sake; but what can I do for yours?" Porus answered, "All my wishes are contained in that one request." This firmness of conduct was agreeable to the disposition of Alexander, and he declared Porus reinstated on his throne; acknowledged him as his friend and ally; and, having soon afterward received the submission of the Glausians, who possessed thirty-seven cities on his eastern frontier, each of which contained near eight thousand inhabitants, he added this

this populous district to the dominions of his new confederate.

Alexander, to perpetuate the memory of his victory, ordered two cities to be built: one on the field of battle, which he called Nicæa; the other where his troops had been encamped, which he named Bucephala, in honour of his horse which died there. All the slain were buried with military honours, solemn sacrifices offered to the Gods, and gymnastic and equestrian games performed on the banks of the Hydaspes.

Without encountering any memorable resistance, he reduced the dominions of another prince named Porus, and the valuable country between the Acesines and the Hydraotes. Natural obstacles, were the principal if not the only difficulties with which he had now to contend. The Acesines is a deep and rapid river, fifteen furlongs broad, and has great rocks in the channel. These rocks, opposing the rapidity of the stream occasion loud and foaming billows, mixed with boiling eddies and whirlpools, equally formidable and dangerous. Of the Macedonians who attempted the passage in boats, many were driven against the rocks and perished; others, however, who employed hides, were more fortunate, and reached the opposite shore in safety. The breadth of the Hydraotes is equal to that of the Acesines, but the current flows more gently.

Alexander was informed that the Catheans, Mallians, and other independent nations, had confederated, and were prepared to oppose his progress. As soon as the king received this intelligence, he marched to give them battle. In a few

a few days he reached the city of Sangala; situated on the top of a hill, with a fine lake behind it. Before this place the confederate Indians were encamped; and, instead of a breastwork, had fortified themselves with a triple row of carriages, in the midst of which were their tents.

Alexander advanced with his cavalry; but finding them unfit for making an assault, he immediately dismounted; and conducted a battalion of foot against the enemy. The Indians defended themselves with great bravery; but, at length, the first line of their carriages was broken, and the Macedonians entered. The second was much stronger; Alexander, however, attacked it, and after a desperate resistance, forced that also. The Indians immediately retired into the city: which Alexander would have invested; but, the infantry he had with him not being sufficient for the purpose, he caused his works to be carried on both sides as far as the lake. The second night he received intelligence that the enemy designed to make their escape through the lake, which was fordable. He therefore caused the cavalry to surround the city; and this precaution was attended with success: the foremost of the Indians who forded the lake were killed by the Macedonian horse; and the rest were compelled to retire into the town.

In the mean time Porus, Alexander's principal ally in those parts, arrived in the camp with five thousand Indians, and a considerable number of elephants. Animated by this reinforcement, the Macedonians prepared to terminate the siege. They therefore erected the engines; the

the brick wall was undermined, the scaling ladders were fixed, several breaches made, and the town was stormed. Seventeen thousand Indians perished in the sack of Sangala, seventy thousand were made prisoners, and three hundred chariots, with five hundred horse, were taken. The city was rased to the ground; and the confederates fled, or submitted to the conqueror. Alexander lost a hundred men in the siege and assault; with twelve hundred wounded.

The destructive ambition of the king still led him to think of new conquests; and he now prepared to pass the river Hyphasis, the most eastern of the five great streams whose confluence forms the Indus. The army, however, refused to march farther eastward; and declared they would no longer hazard their lives to gratify his ambitious designs. He was therefore obliged, by the immoveable and unanimous resolution of his European troops, here to set bounds to his trophies. But before he returned he commanded twelve Macedonian altars, equal in height, and exceeding in bulk, the greatest towers in that country, to be erected on the western bank of the Hyphasis; which marked the extremity of his conquests.

But his restless curiosity and insatiable ambition prepared new toils and dangers for himself and his troops, and fresh oppressions for the neighbouring nations. Having returned to the cities Nicea and Bucephala, he divided his forces, that he might explore more carefully the unknown regions of India. Craterus and Hephestion took the command of two divisions, and marched

marched southward along the opposite banks of the Hydaspes. Philip also, who had been entrusted with the government of Bactria, was recalled with the troops under his command: and the whole Macedonian conquests in India, including seven nations and above two thousand cities were made subject to Porus. Alexander now began to make preparations for passing down the Indus to the ocean; and the Phœnicians, Cyprians, Carians, with the inhabitants of other maritime provinces having equipped a fleet, he embarked with the third division of the army, and set sail. B. C. 326.

On the third day of the voyage he received information that the Oxydracians and Mallians were raising forces to oppose him. He therefore landed, and marched his forces through a desert country against the latter people. The barbarians were driven from the plain, their cities were successfully besieged and taken, but at the storm of their capital a scene was transacted which indicated the temerity and folly of Alexander. His troops having obtained possession of the streets of the city, the Maillians were compelled to betake themselves to the citadel. This fortress was defended by a thick wall, which was extremely lofty without, but of an inconsiderable height toward the inner circumference. The king immediately gave orders to scale the walls, and the soldiers began to execute his commands; but, impatient of delay, he seized a ladder, and placing it against the battlement mounted himself.

The Macedonians, alarmed by the danger of their monarch, followed in such numbers that the ladder broke as he reached the summit.

Several other ladders were also broken, and by these accidents he was left for some moments to contend singly with the enemy. He killed several with his sword, and pushed others over the walls; but the Indians from the adjacent tower galled him with their arrows. Perceiving that only three Macedonians had followed him, he threw himself therefore into the citadel; and Peucestas, Leonatus, and Abreas followed his example. Immediately they were attacked by the enemy; Alexander was shot in the breast with an arrow, and at length fell senseless upon his shield.

The Macedonians had now burst through the gates of the place, and their first care was to carry off their king. They then prepared to revenge his death; for they had every reason to believe that his wound was mortal. The weapon is said to have been extracted by Perdiccas, one of Alexander's life guards; who, by the command of his master, opened the wound with his sword. The king's immediate death was threatened by the great effusion of blood that followed. A swooning, however, retarded the circulation of the fluids, and thus stopping the discharge of blood saved his life. As soon as his health would permit, he shewed himself to his soldiers, who testified immoderate joy at his recovery.

Having arrived at the ocean, Alexander proceeded toward Persepolis, through the deserts of Gedrosea. The soldiers were so pressed with hunger, during the journey, that they were obliged to kill and eat the horses and mules of their carriages. Frequently they met with no water during a whole day, nor perhaps at night.

Numbers

Numbers perished through these difficulties; nor was it until after a march of two months, distinguished by unexampled hardships, that the army emerged into the cultivated provinces of Camerania.

Harpalus, Orsines, and Abulites, the respective governors of Babylon, Persepolis, and Suza, began to despise the orders of Alexander during his absence, and to assume independent sovereignties. The king was not ignorant how to act in an emergency of this nature. He therefore marched immediately toward Pasargadæ, with a body of horse and light-armed troops. Orsines was accused by the people of many grievous crimes; and, the proofs being exhibited against him, he was put to death: and Baryaxes, a Mede, who had assumed the royal tiara, being brought a prisoner by Atrogates, was also executed together with his accomplices in the revolt. The king then proceeded to Suza; where Abulites and his son Oxathres, who were charged with enormous crimes, suffered the most cruel punishment.

Harpalus, whose conduct at Babylon had been no less flagitious, escaped with his treasures to Athens. The Athenians were willing to receive him, on account of his riches; but, afraid to harbour the enemy of Alexander, by a decree of the people he was therefore expelled Attica, and soon afterward slain. Peucestas, who saved the king's life when he fought against a whole garrison, was made governor of Persia. This dignity was no sooner conferred upon him than he laid aside the Macedonian garb, and put on the Median habit. He was the only one among the officers of Alexander who, by conforming

forming to the manners of the vanquished, acquired the affectionate esteem of the people committed to his care.

In the central provinces of his empire, Alexander spent the last year of his life. He repaired the harbour, constructed arsenals, and formed a bason at Babylon sufficient to contain a thousand galleys. The navigation of the great rivers of his empire was also enlarged. By these means he hoped to facilitate internal intercourse among his central provinces; while, by opening new channels of communications, he expected to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and the east with the most remote regions of the earth. He dispatched ships to explore the Persian and Arabian gulphs; and such was the favourable account brought him by Archias, relative to the former, that he adopted the resolution of planting its shores with Grecian colonies.

While Alexander was at Suza, he publicly espoused Barcine, the daughter of Darius; and gave her youngest sister in marriage to his favourite Hephestion. Fourscore Persian ladies of rank were also given to his principal officers. The nuptials were solemnized after the Persian manner. He likewise feasted all the Macedonians who had married before in that country: and it is said that the soldiers, encouraged by presents, and by the hope of royal favour, followed the example of their leaders; and that ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians married Asiatic women.

Alexander now gave himself up to mirth and feasting; and his army was followed by all the ministers of pleasure. He spent whole days and nights in immoderate drinking; and in one of those

those excesses his friend Hephestion lost his life. During three days after the death of the favourite, Alexander neither changed his apparel nor tasted food; and it is even thought that the death of his beloved friend accelerated his own.

Alexander having subdued the Cosseans, a warlike nation inhabiting the mountains of Media, marched toward Babylon. The king, who had so often employed superstition as an instrument of policy, began himself to fall a prey to that miserable delusion. It was not long before his courtiers and subjects became sensible of the foible of their master, and endeavoured to abuse his weakness. Apollodorus, who had been entrusted with the government of Babylon, and had behaved himself ill in that station, tampered with Pythagoras, a diviner. When therefore he drew near to Babylon, a deputation was sent, requesting the king not to enter that city, because they foresaw it would be prejudicial to his health. As the Babylonish astrologers were held in great repute, this advice made a deep impression on his mind, and filled him with confusion and dread. The Greek philosophers being told the foundation of his fear and scruples, waited upon him, and fully demonstrated to him the vanity and absurdity of divination. He was convinced by their reasoning, and immediately marched his army toward Babylon.

The Chaldeans, therefore, failing in their first attempt, had recourse to another expedient. They entreated him at least not to enter the city on the eastern side; but to make a circuit round, and march with his face toward the rising sun. Alexander prepared to comply with

their request; but the marshiness of the soil rendered his design impracticable. He was therefore reluctantly compelled to enter Babylon by the forbidden road.

While he remained in that city, superstitious fears, awakened by the intrigues of Apollodorus or the artifices of the Chaldeans, greatly disturbed his mind. Several circumstances that had happened, during the time of his expedition into India, confirmed him in these scrupulous ideas. He had conversed with the Brachmans; who *practised* the philosophy that Plato *taught*, and whose contempt for the pomp and pleasures of the present life was founded on the firm belief of a future, better, and more permanent state of existence. One of these sages expressed a desire to accompany the king in his expedition. Alexander treated him with great respect; and when Celanus (for that was the name of the sage) fell sick in Persia in his seventy-third year, the prince earnestly desired him not to anticipate his fate by a voluntary death. But finding him inflexibly bent on his purpose, he allowed a funeral pyre to be constructed, and the Brachman was carried to it in a litter. Having embraced all present, he refused to take leave of Alexander, saying, that "he should again see him in Babylon." He then, in sight of the whole army, mounted the pyre. The music struck up, and the soldiers raised a shout of war; while the Indian with a serene countenance expired amidst the flames, singing a hymn to the Gods of his country.

The words of a dying man were considered by the Greeks as prophetical. Those of Celanus sank deep into the mind of Alexander; and the

the painful impression which they made induced him to hasten his journey from a city in which so many concurring circumstances forbade him to reside. His life, however, was now drawing to a close. He indulged himself in that banqueting and festivity to which, after the fatigues of war, he had been extremely addicted. An excessive use of wine put a period to his existence, in the thirty-third year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. B. C. 324.

In a scene of drunken debauchery some time before this event, Clitus, emboldened by wine, had daringly insulted his prince, vilified his noblest actions, and derided his pretensions to divinity. The king was also intoxicated; and Clitus continuing his insolent conduct, Alexander, in an unhappy moment, thrust a spear into the breast of his friend. He instantly, however, repented of the action; and would have destroyed himself with the same weapon, had he not been prevented by his attendants.

Notwithstanding the splendour of his actions and the greatness of his achievements, there appears to be but little to admire and still less to imitate in the character of Alexander. The courage for which he was so much celebrated is only a subordinate virtue, depending chiefly on constitution and natural spirits. The fortunate issue that attended his enterprizes was little more than an accidental advantage. The martial discipline that distinguished his troops had been raised and cultivated chiefly by his father Philip; but his intemperance, his cruelty, his vanity, his passion for useless conquests were all his own. His victories however served to crown the pyramid of Grecian glory; and demonstrated to

to the world to what a degree of excellence the arts of peace can promote those of war. In this picture, we view a combination of petty states, by the arts of refinement, becoming superior to the rest of the world, and leaving mankind an example of the inferiority of brutal force to the nobler advantages of intellect.

CHAP. XX.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Death of Alexander the Great to the Battle of Ipsus.

SOON after the death of Alexander, his friends were convened, and all the principal commanders of the army were summoned to an assembly. When silence was obtained, Perdiccas gave orders that the chair of Alexander should be produced, on which he placed the insignia of royalty, together with the ring that the deceased monarch had given him as an earnest of his friendship and esteem. Perdiccas then declared that it was indispensably requisite some person should be elected head of the government; and that, as Roxana was pregnant, if she brought forth a son he ought to be acknowledged the successor to the Macedonian empire. This, however, was displeasing to the majority; who had begun to entertain an affection for Aridæus, the brother of Alexander, on account of his mildness and moderation. They therefore arrayed him in the royal robes, buckled on him the armour of Alexander, and saluted him by the name of Philip, that he might thereby

thereby be rendered more popular. He was, however, a man of weak intellect; not naturally so, but by the practices of Olympias, who, by poisonous draughts, had debilitated both his constitution and his mind.

Perdiccas strenuously, though secretly, opposed the election of Aridæus to the throne; but, finding that his influence in the general council was likely to be outweighed, he immediately saw the necessity of disguising his real sentiments, and therefore coincided with the rest. It was however decreed that the sovereignty should be divided, between Aridæus and the child to be born of Roxana, if it should prove a son. Perdiccas on every occasion endeavoured to insinuate himself into the favour of the newly elected king, and contrived to procure the death of those who had been the means of raising him to the throne. In order that he might secure to himself the affection of the army, Philip was persuaded to marry Eurydice, the grand-daughter of Philip; whose mother through his instigation had lost her life.

This action was certainly calculated to ensure the warm and steady support of the soldiers, as it appeared to continue the government of the empire in his family. It was necessary also that he should conciliate the friendship of Roxana, whose son was intended to share the sovereignty with him. By this time she had been delivered of a boy, who was named Alexander. Barsine likewise, the daughter of Darius, whom the deceased king had married at Suza, was pregnant. It was therefore resolved between Roxana and Perdiccas that, lest another son should appear to dispute the throne with Alexander, Barsine should

should be put to death. Accordingly she suffered soon after; and Parysatis, the sister of Barsine and widow of Hephestion, underwent the same fate. By these nefarious proceedings, Perdiccas endeavoured to obtain and secure the favour and esteem of Aridæus and Roxana; but, while the Macedonian empire seemed to be under the dominion of two kings, it was in reality subject to the authority and guidance of one ruler only. No act, whether legislative or executive, was passed, which did not originate from Perdiccas.

The supremacy which this ambitious man had acquired did not however satisfy him. His views extended much farther than to the possession of mere temporary honours; and he looked to the time when he should be saluted and reverenced as monarch of the Macedonian empire. He determined to render the distinctions he had already obtained as permanent as they were really great and substantial. It was necessary, therefore, to remove from the court all competitors; and to place them in such distant and separate situations that they could not eclipse his glory, nor rival his power: and, to attain this purpose, it was requisite that the several subordinate governments and great offices of the empire should be judiciously distributed. A council was therefore held, in which it was resolved that the following arrangements should be made in the name of the two kings. Antipater had the government of the European provinces, as general of the army in that continent; Craterus was vested with the title of protector in the same parts; and Perdiccas had the office, with the title, of general of the household troops, in

in the room of Hephestion. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, had Egypt, Lybia, and that part of Arabia which borders upon Egypt. To Lysimachus fell Thrace and the Chersonese; Eumenes had Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; Antigonus had Phrygia the Greater, Lycia, and Pamphylia; and Seleucus was appointed commander of the royal cavalry. The station of Perdiccas might seem the meanest and most inconsiderable: but, though it wanted the decorations of splendour, that deficiency was more than compensated by the power which it conferred. Perdiccas was at full liberty to prosecute the great purposes of his ambition. The two kings were at his disposal, and he was at the head of a trusty and well-disciplined body of soldiers; while, on the other hand, his rivals were obliged to seek their fortunes in distant parts of the world.

Meanwhile, the Greek colonists, whom the conqueror of the east had settled in Upper Asia, weary of continuing in that country, prepared to return home. Having, therefore, united their forces, amounting to upward of twenty thousand men, they took their departure for Europe, without requesting the permission of Perdiccas. That general, foreseeing the consequences of such an enterprize at a time when every thing was in motion, and when the troops and their officers aspired to independence, dispatched Python to oppose them. On his arrival, this commander brought over by money three thousand Greeks, who treacherously deserted their comrades during the engagement, and he thereby obtained a complete victory. The vanquished troops surrendered, on condition that their lives

lives and liberties should be preserved. The Macedonians however, who had received different orders from Perdiccas, inhumanly slaughtered them all without the least regard to the terms which had been granted them.

The news of Alexander's death, having reached Athens, excited a considerable tumult in that city, and occasioned universal demonstrations of joy. The people, who had reluctantly but silently endured the Macedonian yoke, immediately prepared for war: and a deputation was instantly sent to all the states of Greece, inviting them to join in a confederacy against Macedon. Demosthenes, who amidst his misfortunes always retained an ardent zeal for the interest and glory of his country, was at that time in exile at Megara. He, however, joined himself with the Athenian ambassador; and, seconding their remonstrances by the irresistible force of his eloquence, engaged Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponnesus, to accede to the league for restoring the liberty of Greece. The Athenians, struck with admiration at so generous and disinterested an action, immediately passed a decree that Demosthenes should be recalled from banishment: a galley was therefore dispatched for him at Ægina; and, when he entered the Piræus, the magistrates and principal persons of the city went to meet this illustrious exile, and received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy and affection.

Leosthenes, having raised a powerful army, marched against Antipater. That general being apprised of the commotions in Greece, dispatched couriers to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to solicit assistance. But, before the

the expected reinforcements arrived, he directed his course into Thessaly, at the head of only thirteen thousand Macedonian infantry and six hundred horse. The Thessalians at first declared in favour of Antipater; but when they saw the confederated Greeks advancing, and perceived how greatly superior they were in numbers to the Macedonians, they revolted to the hostile army. Antipater, however, was not discouraged by their defection; but ventured an engagement, in which his forces were defeated. Not daring to hazard another battle, he retired to Lamia, a city of Thessaly, which he caused to be fortified, and here he prepared to make an obstinate defence.

The Athenians and confederate troops advanced to attack the town, and assaulted it with great bravery. The enemy, however, resisting them vigorously, they were obliged to convert the siege into a blockade, and to endeavour to reduce the place by famine. The city soon became sensible of the growing scarcity, and the besieged began to be seriously disposed to surrender when Leosthenes, in hastening to the assistance of his workmen whom the enemy had attacked, received a wound of which he died. This incident greatly discouraged the Athenians. They did not however despair, nor relinquish their system of conquest; but chose Amphipilus for their general, a man equally esteemed by the troops on account of his valour and his abilities.

In the mean time, Leonatus was marching to the assistance of the Macedonians besieged in Lamia, not with any real design of assisting Antipater, but that he might make himself master of those countries; and arrived within a

small distance of the city, with twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. The army of the enemy was somewhat more numerous. An engagement ensued, in which the Athenians were victorious, and Leonatus perished in the field of battle. Overjoyed with their successes, and despising the feeble resistance of the Macedonians, many of the Grecian troops returned home, to boast of the triumph they had obtained, and to congratulate their friends on the revival of ancient freedom. But this rejoicing was of short duration. Antipater, having quitted the city the day after the battle, joined the reinforcement from Cilicia, under the command of Crateras; and an engagement took place near the city of Cranon, in Thessaly, in which the confederated Greeks suffered a defeat.

After this battle, a deputation was sent to Antipater, requesting a general peace. That commander, however, replied that he would treat separately with the several states and cities of the confederacy. On the answer being received, the negociation was suspended; and the Greeks, disbanding their troops, returned home. In a short time, therefore, every city and every state was under the necessity of acceding to whatever terms Antipater thought fit to impose.

Athens was the only city that was excepted from the peace. Phocion was sent at the head of an embassy to conciliate the favour of Antipater, and to negociate with that general a treaty of amity. The terms, however, on which this favour was granted, were equally subversive of the Athenian honour and power; for it was demanded that Demosthenes and Hyperides should be

delivered

delivered up. This distinction they undoubtedly owed to their superior services, performed in the cause of their country. The democratical form of government was to be abolished, the ancient mode of taxes restored, the obnoxious were to forfeit their municipal rights, and Athens was to receive a Macedonian garrison, and to defray the expences of the war.

Some of the Athenians seemed satisfied with these conditions, and considered them as lenient and moderate; but Xenocrates thought otherwise, and said, "They are moderate for slaves, but extremely severe for free men." They were, however, compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garrison, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and an intimate friend of Phocion. To such a humiliating condition was Athens now reduced, which had formerly been the glory of the world! Upward of twelve thousand Athenians were disfranchised; many of them, finding their situation insupportable, went into Thrace, and settled there. B. C. 322.

Upon the arrival of the messenger who brought the first accounts to Athens of the disgraceful treaty which had been concluded, Demosthenes fled to Celauria, a small island opposite to Trœzene. Antipater, informed that the orator had eluded his vengeance by flight, dispatched Archias to seize him. This man, having sailed to the island with a body of troops, spared no pains to persuade him to return home, assuring him that Antipater would treat him with humanity. Demosthenes, however, knew Antipater too well to expect any favour from him; and therefore, to prevent the designs of the tyrant, he swallow-

ed poison, and soon fell dead at the foot of the altar, where he had taken sanctuary.

In the mean time, Perdiccas, who had formerly married Nicea, the daughter of Antipater, having obtained the regency of the whole Macedonian empire, became more exalted in his thoughts, and was desirous of espousing Cleopatra, the sister of the late king. So near an alliance with the family of Alexander would, he expected, secure to him the throne. Antigonus penetrated these designs, and foresaw that their success would be infallibly attended with his own destruction; he therefore passed over into Greece, and disclosed to Antipater the plan which Perdiccas had formed for obtaining the sovereignty. Ptolemy also, the governor of Egypt, was engaged in their interest; and preparations were made for frustrating the projects of the regent.

Ptolemy remonstrated with Perdiccas on the inequality of the arrangements which had been made in the empire; and was the first who disclaimed the power of the united monarchs, and prepared in the face of the world to act the part of an independent sovereign. Removed at such a distance from the seat of government, he could strengthen his army and establish his dominion without interruption. Encouraged by these circumstances, he hastened to render his possessions fixed and secure. Perdiccas, who had early notice of these proceedings, deliberated whether he should march into Egypt with a powerful army, or first direct his course toward Macedonia, and engage Antipater and Craterus. The preparations, however, which Ptolemy had made, seemed too alarming to admit of any delay;

lay; it was therefore resolved that Perdiccas should march against him, while Eumenes, with a numerous body of forces, guarded the Asiatic provinces against Antipater and Craterus.

After undergoing considerable fatigue, the regent and his army passed the Egyptian frontier. Hostilities immediately commenced; and frequent and vigorous efforts were made by the royal troops against Ptolemy, but in vain. The forces of that general were uniformly victorious; and the soldiers of Perdiccas, dejected by their ill success, and exasperated by the haughty and overbearing deportment of their commander, mutinied, and slew him in his tent.

During these transactions, the other parties were not inactive. Antipater entered Cilicia, with an intention of assisting Ptolemy in Egypt; and Craterus was detached, with the remainder of the forces, against Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. The reputation of Craterus was so great among the Macedonians that it was expected, when he appeared in the field, all the national troops of the hostile army would immediately revolt and arrange themselves under the banners of their favourite general. Eumenes was aware of this danger; and, in order to guard against such an accident, he kept his army ignorant of the enemy against whom they had to contend, and posted the foreign troops opposite the Macedonian soldiers. By this cautious arrangement, the forces under the command of Eumenes never knew against whom they fought, until they beheld Craterus breathless on the field of battle.

By the death of Craterus, Phila, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had married, was left a widow. From a two-fold cause, therefore, An-

tipater must have been afflicted by the loss which he had sustained. He was not, however, doomed to mourn long; a palliative was very soon brought him, which was the intelligence of the death of Perdiccas. In consequence of that important event, Antipater was solicited to join the army in Syria, in order to make new arrangements for the government of the empire. He therefore hastened thither with all expedition; and upon his arrival was unanimously elected protector of the kings.

As soon as he was invested with this authority, he made a new partition of the provinces, in which all those were excluded who had espoused the interests of Perdiccas and Eumenes. He also re-established others, whom the opposite faction had dispossessed; and in this division Seleucus, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, obtained the government of Babylon, and afterward became the most powerful of all Alexander's successors. Antipater, having adjusted matters in Asia, sent Antigonus with an army against Eumenes; who was determined in his purpose of waging war with the enemies of Perdiccas, because he considered them as inimical to the real interests of Macedon. Cassander, the son of Antipater, was also appointed to the command of a considerable body of troops, with secret injunctions to watch with a jealous eye the proceedings of Antigonus. He disputed not the valour and conduct of that general; but he prudently thought him too bold and enterprising to be constantly awed by the irresolute and tardy commands of a distant and distracted government. Antipater then returned to Macedon.

Antigonus

Antigonus prepared to act with uncommon vigour against Eumenes. He had every incentive to dispatch: his temper was naturally suited to action; he was dissatisfied with the manner in which the great departments in the state were filled; and, bearing an enmity against Eumenes, he had the sanction of authority for crushing him at once. An engagement soon followed, in which Eumenes, by the treachery of one of his soldiers, was completely defeated. This discomfiture, however, occasioned one of the most extraordinary actions of his life: he returned unperceived to the field of battle, burned the bodies of his slain companions, and raised over their ashes a mound of earth; then dismissing the sick and wounded of his army, he retired with six hundred men to the castle of Nora, a place of great strength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, in which he sustained a siege of twelve months against the whole strength of Antigonus's army, and at length forced it to retire. B. C. 320.

During these transactions in Asia, the Athenians, dissatisfied with the Macedonian garrison in their city, sent Demades to request of Antipater that he would recal the troops from Athens. The Athenians had first applied to Phocion, whose influence with that general they knew to be great. But he declined to interfere in the business, and only procured the restoration of the exiles to their homes and ancient privileges. It is probable that he perceived it to be too late a period of their national existence for them to be able to guard themselves. Demades, however, readily undertook the commission. The dignity and glory of their ancestors returned to the

the minds of the Athenians; and they hoped that he would at least procure them the semblance of freedom.

Demades, as we have formerly seen, had been the creature and favourite of Philip and of his successors. He it was that drew up the decree of banishment against the patriotic and disinterested Demosthenes. He was not destitute of abilities or eloquence; but he wanted probity and disinterestedness. Antipater said he had two friends at Athens:—Phocion who would never accept any reward for his services; and Demades, who never thought he received enough. Whether the Macedonian governor had discontinued his largeness, or Demades considered them as not sufficiently liberal, we know not; certain it is that he formed a correspondence with Perdiccas, whom he invited to assume the government of Greece and of Macedon. A letter he had written to that commander was intercepted, in which were these words: "Come, and be the support of Macedon and Greece, which at present lean on an old rotten staff," meaning Antipater. This discovery had taken place immediately before his setting out to request the recal of the Macedonian garrison. His son, therefore, who accompanied him, was put to death in the sight of Demades, after which he himself was immediately slain. Thus were the Greeks reduced to the necessity of imploring liberty with the servility of slaves, which they had hitherto demanded with the noble confidence of an independent people!

Antipater did not long survive the orator Demades; and his death happened soon after his return from his Asiatic expedition. He had undergone

dergone excessive fatigue, in keeping the Greeks under the subjection of Macedon, and in adjusting matters in Asia; which probably conspired to accelerate his end. Ever active, faithful, and zealous, in the cause of his country, he suffered himself to enjoy but little repose. The differences which subsisted in Macedon, and the instruction of his countrymen in the arts of peace, had employed his attention after his arrival. His body had become enfeebled and emaciated, and the anxiety of his mind occasioned a violent and inveterate disease. Amidst this complicated distress, he acted as became his descent, and the excellence of his understanding. Finding his end approaching, he assembled his friends and the friends of his country, and gave them instructions relative to the course of conduct, which it was equally their duty and their interest to pursue. It was necessary to appoint a governor over Macedon, and a regent of the empire. He knew the importance of those stations; and was sensible that his own glory and reputation, the interest of the state, and the preservation of the Macedonian empire, required a person to be nominated whose age, experience, and former services, would command authority and respect. Under these impressions, therefore, he bequeathed to Polyperchon, the eldest of all Alexander's captains at that time in Europe, the two high offices of protector and governor of Macedon. Thus did Antipater sacrifice the interest of his family to that of the empire, and died full of years and of glory.

Cassander, who was in Asia at the time of his father's death, apprehending in what a perilous situation this event had left himself and the friends

friends of the late administration in Macedon, was resolved to attempt something for their safety. He revolved in his mind the character of Polyperchon, who was equally destitute of wisdom, of resolution, and of probity: his ambition also prompted him to attempt the recovery of that command, of which he had been deprived by the will of his father; and he contrived a method for procuring himself satisfaction. Under the pretence of taking the diversion of hunting, he engaged several of his friends to accompany him into the country. When they were at some distance from court, he assembled them together, and disclosed his mind. He told them the only reason for bringing them to that place was that he might confer with them on matters of the greatest importance, and have the advantage of their opinions. He alluded, he said, to the recent change in the government, and to the probable consequences that were likely to flow from it. He then expatiated at some length on the dangers that threatened them, from the junction of interests between Polyperchon and Olympias, a woman who was the implacable enemy of Antipater's friends, and whom the protector had recalled from her retirement in Epirus, and had appointed her to superintend the rearing of Alexander, the son of Roxana. It is uncertain whether Cassander communicated to his friends at that time the whole of his project, and his intention of supplanting the protector. His remonstrances, however, produced the desired effect; and many avowed themselves his partisans, in whose confidence he resolved to act independently and openly.

While

While Cassander was thus employed in forming projects for subverting the government, Polyperchon was busied in securing his dominion in Greece. He had held a council of state, in which it was determined that all the governors whom Antipater had appointed in the Grecian communities should be displaced, and that democracy should be every where re-established. An edict was therefore put forth, the introduction and conclusion of which abounded with protestations, that the sole interest of the court, by the measure enjoined, was to restore liberty to Greece.

This edict, notwithstanding the gracious purpose for which Polyperchon pretended to publish it, did not meet with unanimous approbation. The main object of it was to break the power of the late governors; but they were unwilling to submit to a decree which evidently tended to injure them. They hesitated for a while, and then applied to Cassander for relief. Athens being of more consequence to the Macedonians than any other Grecian state, the eyes of all men were turned on Nicanor, governor of that city. It was obvious that, had Nicanor immediately complied with the injunctions of the edict, most of the other cities and states in Greece would have followed his example: but he expressed a diffidence at first, relative to the authority of Polyperchon; and, after he had received letters from Olympias on the subject, he devised new schemes of procrastination, until he had sufficiently reinforced his garrison at Munichia. Instead, therefore, of quitting the fort, according to the decree, he unexpectedly seized on the Piræus.

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The Athenians, intoxicated with the ideal liberty which they now enjoyed, and provoked at the conduct of Nicanor, determined to rid themselves of those who seemed to oppose the wishes of their deliverers For that purpose they turned their fury upon the patriotic Phocion, and some of the most distinguished citizens of Athens. These withdrew from the rage of the people; and threw themselves on the mercy of Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, who was entering Attica with a powerful army; and by this time also the protector himself was at hand, with Philip Aridæus, and another large body of forces.

Alexander, having heard Phocion and the other fugitives relate their account of the matter, was convinced of their innocence, and of the injustice of the decree; and in consequence sent letters of recommendation with them to his father. They were accompanied by Dinarchus, a Corinthian, and an old and intimate friend of Polyperchon; but scarcely were they arrived at the camp of the regent when deputies came from Athens, accusing them of high treason. Polyperchon was at a loss for some time how he should act: his son had precipitately and imprudently pledged his faith to the exiles; but the interest of his cause would, he considered, be best promoted by complying with the wishes of the Athenians. Always unsteady in his sentiments and sanguine in his measures, Polyperchon no sooner conceived this idea than he gave orders that his old acquaintance Dinarchus should be first tortured, and then put to death; while Phocion and his companions were bound and sent back in carts to Athens, with this message,

sage, "That though he was convinced they had been traitors to their country, yet he left them to the judgment of the Athenians as a free people."

Phocion, perceiving by the clamour of the people that no defence was to be allowed them, exclaimed, "With regard to myself, I acknowledge the crime of which I am accused, and cheerfully submit to the sentence of the law. But consider, O Athenians! what have these men done, that they should be involved in the same punishment with me?" The people vehemently cried out "They are your accomplices, and that is sufficient for condemning them." The decree was then read: and Phocion, Nicocles, Aheudippus, Agamon, and Pythocles, were sentenced to suffer death; and Demetrius Phalereus, Callimedon, Charicles, and others, were condemned in their absence. Many persons proposed that Phocion should be tortured before being put to death; but the majority of the people considered that punishment as too severe. While the votes were collecting, many placed garlands on their heads, and demonstrated all the satisfaction that could have been felt had the most powerful public enemy suffered a defeat. An intimate friend took the opportunity of asking Phocion, as they were bearing him to execution, if he had any commands to his son. "Only," replied he, "that he forget the ill treatment which his father received from the Athenians."

The resentment of his enemies was not allayed by the death of Phocion: a decree was passed, by which his body was banished the Athenian territories, and any person that should

furnish fire for his funeral pile was subjected to a penalty. One Conopian took up the corpse, and carried it beyond Eleusina, where he borrowed fire of a Megarian woman, and burned it. A matron of that state, who attended on the occasion, raised a humble monument to perpetuate the memory of the unfortunate orator. Having collected the ashes, she carried them home, and buried them under her hearth; putting up the following prayer to her household Gods: "To you, O ye deities! guardians of this place, do I commit the precious remains of the most excellent Phocion. Protect them, I beseech you, from every insult; and deliver them one day to be deposited in the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall have become wiser."

A short time only intervened before the prayer of the pious matron was fulfilled. The Athenians, like all democracies, passed from one extreme to the other. They recollected the many services he had performed the state; and therefore decreed the victim of their rage a statue of brass; ordered his ashes to be brought back at the public expence; and condemned his accusers to be put to death. Agonides, who was the principal person in promoting the plot against Phocion, was seized and executed; but Epicurus and Demophilus fled. Phocion's son, however, pursued and slew them.

While these things were transacting, Cassander, seeing no hope of immediate success to his undertaking by the greatest effor of all the
B. C. 318. power he could then command in Europe, judged it necessary to seek assistance in some other quarter. He had endeavoured

deavoured to conciliate the affections of the Macedonians, and to engage them warmly in his cause: Antigonus, he was sensible, would be ready to oppose any person that should possess the invidious office of protector of the kings; and to him, therefore, he determined to make application for relief. It is to be numbered among the political errors of the new administration in Macedon that, after openly attacking the friends and dependents of Antipater, and receiving Olympias into a participation of the government, Cassander should be suffered to withdraw into Asia, where his representations and remonstrances might be productive of the most dangerous and baneful effects. Antigonus received Cassander with the greatest affability and kindness. He hated Polyperchon; and to execute vengeance on him he saw would be the shortest and most sure road to the conquest of Asia, which was now become the great object of his ambition.

The forces which Cassander obtained of Antigonus were not numerous; but, to a man of his fertile and enterprising genius, any number of troops proved of considerable importance, and were capable of achieving great exploits. When he had received reinforcements, he sailed for Athens; and, entering the Piræus with his small fleet, was welcomed to Greece by Nicanor. With respect to the new government, his sentiments were congenial with those of Cassander: he had been appointed governor of Munichia by Antipater during his regency; he was the first that dared openly and boldly to resist the edict of Polyperchon; and on that account he

had been exposed to many and great dangers. None, therefore, appeared more likely to second the views and designs of his visitor with greater sincerity.

Polyperchon, being informed of the arrival of Cassander, instantly resolved to blockade his competitor in Athens, and to make a vigorous effort by sea and land, to terminate the war at once by the reduction of that city. For that purpose, therefore, he assembled a numerous army, and marched into Attica. That portion of Greece was never remarkable for the fertility of its lands; and the numerous forces, which Polyperchon had collected, soon caused a scarcity of provisions in the country. This circumstance induced the protector to alter the measures he had proposed, as he despaired of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. Leaving troops, therefore, under the command of his son Alexander, who had orders to observe the motions of the enemy and to keep them in awe, he marched with the rest of the army into Peloponnesus, where he knew his opponent had many favourers.

By this time Clytus had set sail with the fleet to meet that of Cassander, which was under the conduct of Nicanor. A battle was fought; in which this latter commander was defeated, and obliged to betake himself to flight. The fleet of Nicanor, however, being refitted, and reinforced by light-armed troops sent over in barks by Antigonus, he soon found himself again in a condition to face the enemy. Having, therefore, put to sea, he came up with the armament of Clytus while at anchor at Byzantium, and obtained

tained a complete victory. After the engagement, Clytus himself was killed by an insurrection of the soldiers of Lysimachus.

In the mean time Polyperchon had entered Peloponnesus, and had once more recourse to his edict. He was determined that his commands should be obeyed; and in case of refusal he threatened to inflict the most severe punishment. This decree was carried into execution in most of the Grecian communities; and discord, slaughter, and confusion, every where prevailed. Those, who had borne any office under the administration of Antipater, were put to death, or driven into banishment. These tyrannical proceedings excited the just odium of the discerning part of the people. The Megalopolitans were the most considerable body of men that had the prudence and address to avoid these internal dissensions. The magistrates and people, having consulted on this affair, unanimously determined to retain their present form of government; and at the same time to remain, if possible, in tranquillity. This resolution was considered by the protector as treasonable: he declared that it was not only an open and avowed insult on his authority, but a tacit acknowledgment that the Megalopolitans were the coadjutors and abettors of Cassander's rebellion; and he therefore denounced exemplary punishment against that people. The Megalopolitans fully understood the meaning of the protector; but they had taken their measures in time, and their counsels were not easily to be overturned. They withdrew their effects from the country, fortified their city, and, their number of fighting men amounting to fifteen thousand, determined

mined to make a desperate resistance against the enemy.

Polyperchon made good his threats; he appeared before the city, accompanied by Philip Aridæus, the king, with a very considerable army and a number of elephants. His engineers were exceedingly active: before the besieged expected that they had begun to work, three towers, with all the wall between them, were undermined and fell to the ground. A breach being thus effected, Polyperchon led his army to the assault, which was vigorously supported on both sides; but the assailants were finally repulsed.

This check did not discourage Polyperchon from prosecuting his designs. He determined to renew the attack, and to avail himself of the use of his elephants. When this was reported to the Megalopolitans, they were greatly distressed at the idea of those terrible animals. They were, however, soon relieved from their uneasiness on that subject. It happened that a person named Damides was among them, who had served under Alexander in his eastern expedition; and this man undertook to render the elephants perfectly useless to the besiegers, and harmless to the besieged. The plan he made use of was this—he caused long pieces of planks to be driven into the ground, into each of which he fixed several iron spikes; and over the spikes he threw some rubbish, that the enemy might not perceive them: this was done all along the inside of the breach. The citizens were then drawn up, not in front, but in flank, between the city and these machines, and at each end of the breach.

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The besiegers were now ready to make the assault. They advanced in excellent order with the elephants in front. These animals, forced by their riders within the breach, stuck their feet on the spikes, and were unable to proceed any farther. The citizens instantly perceived this, and galled them and their riders with stones, darts, and other missile weapons. This occasioned a dreadful confusion. Many of the spikes had pierced the feet of the elephants so deep that they not only were incapable of advancing, but fell to the ground. Others were so enraged by the pain they experienced, that they became ungovernable, turned upon their own men, and trod them under foot. The Macedonian army seeing this disaster, refused to proceed; and Polyperchon, leaving a considerable body of horse and foot to block up the Megalopolitans in their city, was compelled to retire in disgrace. About the same time also news equally disagreeable and dishonourable was brought to the protector, relative to the total defeat of the admiral Clytus. After such repeated losses, he saw no prospect of acquiring any honour in Greece: the greatest part, therefore, of his army returned immediately to Macedon.

While these transactions were performing in Europe, Antigonus, who had been appointed to the government of Phrygia the Greater, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, resolved to make himself master of all Asia. For that purpose he collected an army of sixty thousand foot, and nineteen thousand horse, together with many elephants. He made no secret of his intentions; but avowed his designs, and removed all the governors

vernors of provinces whom he suspected to be hostile to his measures. He endeavoured to gain the friendship of Eumenes; and sent an able and confidential person to treat with that general in the castle of Aora, and to assure him that, if he would become the friend and ally of Antigonus, he should have the most honourable situation in his court. Eumenes at first appeared to receive these overtures in a favourable manner; but, when they tendered to him an oath that he would be faithful to the interests of Antigonus, he refused to make any such promise: Antigonus, therefore, became indignant at the conduct of Eumenes, and began to levy war against that general.

Polyperchon, finding himself distressed by the treachery and power of Antigonus and Cassander, not only allowed Olympias to take up her abode in Macedon but made her his chief confidante, and in a little time virtually committed to her care the government of the whole nation. She was a woman of a violent and revengeful temper of mind, but not destitute of discernment. The deep and often fatal intrigues, in which she had been concerned, had taught her a knowledge of mankind. That knowledge she exerted on the present occasion. Instead of nominating to the chief command in Asia one whose dissolute morals and licentious conduct promised fair to promote any arbitrary scheme which the court might propose, she appointed or advised Polyperchon to appoint Eumenes, who was the most loyal and steady friend of the court. Eumenes was therefore constituted commander in chief of the royal forces in Asia, and had

had a donation of five hundred talents awarded him for his recent services.

When Eumenes received the letters which conferred on him the supreme command in the east, he hastened to perform his duty, and to acquit himself with credit. But the rival with whom he had to contend was both active and enterprising. In the number of his soldiers, and also with regard to influence in the Asiatic provinces, Eumenes was greatly inferior to Antigonus. The former, therefore, was under the necessity of employing all the resources of his inventive genius: he did so, and he might have finally proved victorious had he not been betrayed by the perfidy of his friends. He considerably augmented his strength in a short time; and, by granting appointments and conferring honours, he gained the favour and friendship of the most powerful officers in the opposite interest. The Argyraspide, a body of hardy Macedonian veterans, who, on account of their merit and bravery, had been presented by Alexander the Great with silver shields, were at first extremely adverse to the appointment and the measures of Eumenes. They received him indeed with every mark of deference and respect; but Eumenes perceived that the civility of their conduct was only exterior, and that they had no real regard or esteem for him. On the contrary, he was sensible that they envied his authority; and therefore endeavoured to render their malice ineffectual, and to provide for his own safety and the prosperity of the empire. But his integrity and address soon attached these soldiers to his party.

The method which he took to prevent the ideas

property; but neither his birth nor his fortune was equal to his virtues. He had studied under the philosopher Theophrastus, and from him derived practical as well as theoretical knowledge. He was himself at once a philosopher, an orator, and a man of exemplary morals. Phocion and Demosthenes had been his teachers in virtue and eloquence. The knowledge he had gained, while a disciple of Theophrastus, enabled him to comprehend and encourage the pursuits of a literary and ingenious people; and his eloquence and upright conduct tended to check and controul the dissolute manners and licentiousness of the Athenians. Cicero also speaks very favourably of his oratory.

The moderation and mildness which he displayed in his government procured him the esteem, and in some instances the affection of the people. They were soon induced to repose the greatest confidence in his wisdom and integrity; and that confidence he did not betray. The power which he might easily have converted into tyranny, he employed in promoting the wealth and grandeur of the Athenians. He increased their public revenues, adorned the city with many stately and magnificent structures, and restored such as were likely to fall in consequence of decay. In every other respect also he exhibited such indisputable marks of affection and regard for the people, over whom he presided, that they bestowed on him very considerable honours.

The losses and disgrace, which the arms of Polyperchon had recently suffered, made the protector sensible that he had no chance of retaining the sovereignty of Greece. He was obliged,

obliged, therefore, to content himself with the direction of Macedon. Attica was beyond the reach of his power; and the ill success, with which his attempts upon the city of the Megalopolitans had been attended, had inspired all Greece with contempt of his authority. Under such circumstances, ambition would have been futile and ridiculous; but he was destined to a still severer lot.

Olympias, as we have before seen, had been imprudently recalled by Polyperchon, to take charge of the infant son of Roxana, and to sanction by her presence the new administration of Macedon. Previously to her quitting Epirus, she had written to Eumenes in Asia, desiring his advice, whether she should remain in her present situation, or return into Macedonia. Eumenes, who always had the welfare of the state near to his heart, informed her that he considered it as most prudent to remain in Epirus until the war should be terminated. He advised her not to be too precipitate in her resolutions; but that, in case she did return to Macedon, she should forget the injuries which had been formerly done to her, and endeavour to conciliate the affections and esteem of the people. The sequel of her story will prove how little she regarded this prudent and friendly admonition of Eumenes.

She set out from Epirus, and arrived in Macedon very soon after. When her presence was announced, great consternation and dismay seized the minds of the people; and even those who had been in habits of friendship and intimacy with the exiled queen dreaded the effects of her resentment. The friends of Anti-

pater, however, by whose influence she had been banished Macedon, had still greater reason to fear the consequences of her return; but, above all, Philip Aridæus and his queen. Aridæus was the son of Philip by a concubine, and on that account had from his infancy been subjected to the hatred and aversion of Olympias. The weakness of his intellect, and the debility of his constitution, were said to have been occasioned by the destructive potions which the queen obliged him to take. Perdiccas began his regency with the murder of Cynane, the wife of Amyntas, and mother of Aridæus's queen. This crime was perpetrated at the instigation of Olympias. Alexander, previous to his setting out on his eastern expedition, had also been advised by his mother to cause Amyntas to be murdered that he might leave few in Macedon who during his absence should aspire at the sovereignty; and this nefarious counsel was too faithfully followed.

It was not, therefore, to be supposed that either Philip, or Eurydice his wife, could look upon her with complacence. They, in fact, were sensible that they had every thing to fear from her assuming any power; and Eurydice, who had more discernment than her husband, rightly conceived that Olympias would never be at rest until she had deprived Aridæus of the regal title and of his life. Under these ideas she began to levy an army; and requested all who respected the brother of Alexander their late royal master, or his queen, or who revered the virtues and memory of Antipater, to unite in the defence of the rights and liberties of their country. She then wrote to Cassander, beseeching

ing him to hasten to her assistance; and required Polyperchon to meddle no more in the administration, but to deliver up all to Cassander, to whom the king had deemed it expedient to delegate the regency of the empire. The Macedonians readily armed themselves in defence of Eurydice and her husband; and in a short time the queen had collected a force more than sufficient to screen her husband and herself from any violence which might be offered to their persons.

These hasty proceedings of Eurydice gave her enemies sufficient pretext for levying an armed force to oppose her measures. Olympias, who was ever jealous and watchful, had carefully observed her recent actions, and perceived that it was necessary to be on her guard against her designs. Olympias had received from her brother a body of Epirots, to escort her from his kingdom. These she added to some Macedonian troops, whom her interest and power induced to follow her fortunes; and straight marched her forces to join the army of Polyperchon, which was returning from the unfortunate expedition into Peloponnesus. Having formed a junction, the whole united army moved to attack the troops of Eurydice; who, animated by the cruel treatment her family had received, boldly led forth her forces to oppose the enemy.

It was not the intention of Eurydice to hazard a battle before the arrival of Cassander: but her too precipitate conduct in raising forces had roused the apprehensions of her adversaries; and, their motions being thus quickened, it was impossible to defer fighting until Cassander should be able to march an army to the assistance

of the king and his illustrious consort. The two contending parties therefore drew up their forces in order of battle; but the appearance of Olympias at the head of her troops immediately terminated the dispute. When the armies approached each other, the soldiers that should have fought for Eurydice, struck with the awful mien of Olympias, who appeared to possess all the dignity and majesty of the widow of Philip and the mother of Alexander the Great, instantly deserted their standard, and arranged themselves under the banners of the enemy.

By this event Olympias, had she adhered to the advice of Eumenes, might have settled all things amicably and honourably; but her passions, which were strong and unrelenting, swayed her with ungovernable fury. By the defection of the troops, Philip and Eurydice fell into her hands; and she immediately proceeded to inflict a severe and unmerited punishment on the unhappy captives, who were soon after put to death.

Cassander, having received intelligence of these events, hastened into Macedonia. When he arrived at the straits of Thermopylæ, he found the Thessalians in arms ready to oppose his passage; but expedition being his main object, he studied only how to avoid delay. Collecting therefore all the ships which he could procure in the neighbourhood, he embarked his troops, and transported them safely into Thessaly. They reached Macedon before Polyperchon and Olympias were apprized of his approach. Cassander formed his army into two divisions; one of which was under the command of Callas, and he himself took the lead of the other.

other. Callas had orders to engage the troops of Polyperchon, who was now separated from those of Olympias; while Cassander pursued the army of that vindictive woman. Notwithstanding all the cruelties of which she had been guilty, she still confided in the affection of the Macedonians: she had formerly triumphed by the majesty of her appearance, and she hoped to do it again, when she had proved to them the dangers and the hardships she was willing to undergo in order to guard and strengthen the administration of her country. She had many followers, but they resembled a court rather than an army. She went to the principal cities, in company with her daughter Roxana, her grandson Alexander, her niece Deidamia, Thessalonica the sister of Alexander, and many other persons of high birth and interest. With this numerous retinue, she was at length under the necessity of retiring to Pydna, a sea port and well fortified town.

Cassander immediately invested the city by land, while his fleet blocked up the entrance of the harbour. The besieged soon began to be in want of provisions; but encouraged by the presence of many persons of distinction, they obstinately defended the place. Olympias also expected that her brother Æacidas would send succours from Epirus to her assistance; which proved to be the case. Cassander, therefore, knowing that the army of that prince was in motion, detached part of his troops to block up the passages into Epirus. This was done so completely that the army of Æacidas was reduced to great difficulties; and not only despaired of the success of the expedition, but of their own safety.

Under these circumstances the troops mutinied, and, deposing Æacidas, submitted to Cassander. The only person on whom Olympias now relied for relief was Polyperchon; but the detachment under Callas employed his attention so much that he was unable to afford her any assistance. Callas had been at pains to represent to the army of Polyperchon the cruelties and enormities of which the administration had been guilty; and he had thereby so effectually alienated the minds of the soldiers that Polyperchon was scarcely able to defend himself.

The condition of the besieged was now become truly deplorable. The royal family fed on the flesh of horses, the soldiers on their dead companions, and the elephants on saw dust. Numbers were induced, by the miseries which prevailed in the city, to desert to Cassander, who received with lenity all that had not been concerned in the late murders. Olympias again turned her thoughts toward Polyperchon. She wrote him a letter, requesting that he would send a bark of fifty oars to convey her away by night. Cassander, however, having seized the messenger, disappointed the design. Olympias, not finding the vessel at the time she expected, gave up all hopes; and, without waiting any longer, surrendered herself and her army to Cassander. This event determined the ill fate of all Macedon. Pella, the capital, soon after submitted to the conqueror. Aristonus, who then commanded a body of troops at Amphipolis, at the request of Olympias, yielded that city to Cassander.

When Olympias submitted to Cassander, she stipulated for her life; but the kindred of those whose deaths she had occasioned insisted tha

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she should suffer. She was therefore accused before the assembly of Macedon, and without being heard in her defence condemned to die. Cassander advised her to escape to Athens, and offered her a ship for that purpose; but she refused to fly, and declared that she was ready to answer before the Macedonian people for whatever she had done. Cassander, however, was unwilling to abide the issue of such a trial as she demanded. He therefore sent a band of soldiers to put her to death. When these men came into the prison, they were struck with awe, and refused to execute the orders they had received; but the relations of those who had fallen sacrifices to her cruelty seized her, and cut her throat.

Immediately after the death of Olympias, Roxana and her son Alexander were sent to Amphipolis, where they were made prisoners; and orders were given that they should be treated only as private persons. Hercules the son of Alexander by Barsine, the only remaining branch of the royal family, was murdered by Polyperchon, at the instigation of Cassander, about two years afterward. Eight years had not elapsed since the death of Alexander, and not a single branch of his house remained to enjoy a portion of that empire which he and his father had acquired at the expence of so much blood, danger, and treachery. Such, to the royal family of Macedon, were the effects of that ambition, which had lighted the torch of war over Europe, Asia, and Africa.

While Cassander was settling the affairs of Macedon, Polyperchon, and his son Alexander, were intriguing with the enemies of Antipater's family

family in Greece, and sowing the seeds of future dissension in that country. It was necessary that Cassander should endeavour to consult the interests of Greece, as well as of Macedon. He therefore determined to march an army into that country, and expel his enemies from thence. He directed his course into Thessaly; but found the Pylæ shut by the Ætolians, his avowed and inveterate enemies. Having, however, forced the pass, he descended into Bœotia, and proceeded to the ruins of Thebes. The sight of these ruins, it is natural to imagine, would give birth to a variety of reflections; it would remind him of the ancient power and splendour of that city; and of the renown and fate of that man, and his family, by whom it had been razed. These thoughts led him to the project of rebuilding the city, and of recalling its proscribed inhabitants, who were scattered throughout every part of Greece. In this undertaking he requested the assistance of the rest of the Bœotians; and the walls were soon finished, and the principal streets rebuilt. The Thebans then sent to recal all their exiled countrymen; and their city, which had been razed by the Macedonians above twenty years before, was now rebuilt by the same people.

Cassander, having executed this design, proceeded into Peloponnesus; and, partly by force partly by treaty, gained all the principal cities over to his cause, and then returned to Macedon.

While Cassander was thus employing his efforts to establish himself on the throne of Macedonia, Antigonus was concerting measures to rid himself of Eumenes. After being defeated by that general in most of the engagements which

which had taken place during several campaigns, he determined to make one desperate and decisive effort. He resolved to attack Eumenes in his winter quarters, when his troops were dispersed all over the country. The battle was fought near the sea; and Eumenes, having the superiority in infantry, effectually routed the phalanx of Antigonus; but his cavalry were worsted, through the treachery of Paucestus, their commander, who had secretly gone over to the interests of Antigonus. By this instance of perfidy, therefore, the infantry was left to combat alone. Antigonus, perceiving that the engagement had raised a cloud of dust, wheeled round the army of Eumenes, and possessed himself of the baggage. This contrivance was of more advantage to him than a victory could have been; for the soldiers of Eumenes returning into their camp, and being informed of the loss of their baggage, women and children, became mutinous. B. C. 315.

In this situation of that general's army, Teutamus, who commanded a battalion of the troops called the Silver-shields, and who had long inclined to Antigonus, took this opportunity of sending to the hostile camp, and demanded the booty which had been thus taken. Antigonus replied that he would willingly restore the troops their baggage and all their property, provided they would deliver up Eumenes, who was not a Macedonian by birth, and who had been declared a public enemy. The greater part of the army agreed to the proposal of Antigonus; and among the first were the Argyraspidæ, or Silver-shields. Eumenes was seized, and his hands bound behind him, in which condition

dition the troops prepared to deliver him into the hands of Antigonus. He was conducted to the camp of his rival, who kept him a few days in confinement, and then commanded him to be executed.

The late signal success of Antigonus opened a wide field for his ambition; and he again formed the design of making himself master of all Asia. Many of the commanders who lately opposed him, hastened, after the event of this battle, to make their submission, and to proffer their aid and support in his undertaking. He readily accepted their acknowledgments of his superiority, but was backward in assuring them of his protection. In truth it was not his interest, and therefore not his design, to protect them. The theatre on which he then appeared, extensive as it was, appeared too limited and exhibited too many actors for any one of them to become illustrious. On this account he sacrificed several of the inferior governors to his ambition; and had not Seleucus still stood in the way, it is probable that his resentment and suspicions would have been thus completely allayed.

Seleucus had been appointed by Antipâter governor of Babylon. He was an able and enterprising commander; and had performed many signal services to Antigonus, who, nevertheless, demanded an account of the revenues of his province, by this measure plainly implying that he considered him as a dependent. Seleucus was astonished at this application, and answered that he did not consider he was any more obliged to give an account than Antigonus had to require it; since the province of Babylon was conferred on him by the Macedonians as the reward of his services.

services. Antigonus persisted in his demand, and even began to threaten. Seleucus, therefore, considering the great power of his enemy, and the little prospect there was of being able to resist him, with the privacy and assistance of some of his officers, got together a body of fifty horse, and quitting Babylon in the night, fled into Egypt.

To secure themselves in their possessions, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, now entered into a confederacy, engaging to maintain the rights of each other. Antigonus being informed of this agreement, determined to proceed immediately to hostilities; and to obtain, if possible, the provinces of Syria and Phœnicia, which were at that time in the possession of Ptolemy. He accordingly marched an army with the greatest expedition; and before the enemy were aware of his designs, most of those provinces had submitted to him. Finding that he could not carry on a war against so many great and powerful princes with any prospect of success, unless he could procure a fleet which might co-operate with his land forces, he ordered vast quantities of wood to be cut down on mount Libanus, and in other parts of his dominions; and thus before the end of the year he was ready to put to sea with five hundred sail. His first naval expedition was directed against Tyre; which, after a siege of four months, opened its gates to him.

While he was thus employed in Phœnicia, Cassander had led his forces toward the coasts of Asia Minor, and had made himself master of several provinces. On receiving information of this event, Antigonus marched an army to that quarter,

quarter, and in a short time encamped in the neighbourhood of that general; who, however, sensible of the inferiority of his troops in point of numbers, avoided an engagement.

During the time of the expedition of Antigonus into Asia Minor, Ptolemy entered Syria with a numerous army; but he had advanced no farther than Gaza when Demetrius, who had been left to command the troops in those parts during the absence of his father, offered him battle. Ptolemy did not decline the challenge; but attacked and defeated the army of his adversary. Demetrius, finding it impossible to resist the victorious forces, now abandoned Phœnicia, Palestine, and Syria; and Ptolemy, flushed with his success, dispatched Cilles, one of his generals, with a very considerable army, to expel him from Upper Syria also, where he still continued with the remains of his forces. Demetrius, however, informed of this circumstance, determined to fall unawares upon the army of Cilles: and he executed his design with such celerity that he totally routed the enemy, and took seven thousand prisoners, in the number of whom was Cilles himself. When Antigonus, who was at that time in Phrygia, received intelligence of this disaster, he joined his troops to those of his son; and obliging Ptolemy to retire into Egypt, the provinces of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea, again became subject to their former master.

The defeat of Demetrius, at Gaza, enabled Ptolemy to assist Seleucus in his pretensions on Babylon. He accordingly sent a small body of troops to the aid of that general; who with this reinforcement marched to attempt the recovery of his kingdom. His whole army did not amount

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to more than thirteen hundred men; and he had to conduct them through that extensive territory which lies between Phœnicia and Babylon, many districts of which were in the interests of Antigonus: but he accomplished his purpose, and was restored to a command to which his abilities and virtues justly entitled him. The attachment of his people, together with the vigour of his own mind, secured to him the province of Babylon and some neighbouring states.

Antigonus and Demetrius had now become the enemies of the whole Macedonian government. In Europe its subjects dreaded the dismemberment of their empire; and in Asia and Africa they expected a sovereign that should be arbitrary and despotic. All became alarmed, and were ready to listen to any proposals which might seem to afford them relief. A general confederacy was, therefore, formed against Antigonus and Demetrius; but the activity and resources of these commanders appeared inexhaustible. In Greece the Ætolians and Epirots, excited and supported by them, had taken the field against Cassander. Ptolemy had carried his arms into Asia Minor, and sent his fleets to reduce the Ægean islands that favoured Antigonus; whose attention was thus compelled to both these objects, while at the same time Lysimachus and Cassander were attacking the provinces on the banks of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. Hither also it was necessary for Antigonus and Demetrius to send forces: in short, they were beset with foes on every hand; but they nevertheless maintained their cause with astonishing vigour and success.

B. C. 306. While Athens was enjoying a state of tranquillity under the administration of the deputy, of Cassander, Demetrius appeared off the Piræus with a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. The Athenians submitted to his powerful armament; and Demetrius Phalerius, the Governor, was expelled. The first act of the new administration was to restore the democracy; the destructive effects of which were immediately felt. Demetrius next sailed to Rhodes, and formed the siege of that island. Cassander, in the mean time, endeavoured to regain possession of Athens; but Demetrius returning compelled him to raise the seige, and in a very short time stripped him of all his conquests. The result of this triumph was the submission of the greater part of Greece to the arms of Demetrius, and he was appointed commander in chief of the Grecian forces. All the cities from the straits of Thermopylæ to the isthmus of Corinth yielded to his power; and likewise many cities in Peloponnesus.

Cassander, fearing lest Demetrius should pursue him into Macedon, sent deputies to Antigonus in Syria, to conclude a treaty of peace; but Antigonus required the unconditional submission of Cassander, and the renunciation of all claim, on his part, to the throne of Macedon. The confederacy was therefore strengthened against Antigonus and Demetrius; and was now composed of the Macedonians, the Thracians, and the Egyptians, with several inferior states. Lysimachus had the command of the Thracians and a detachment of Macedonians; and Seleucus headed the Egyptians. Lysimachus

chus hastened into Asia; and before winter arrived in Phrygia. He offered terms of accommodation to Antigonus; but that prince was too confident of success to listen to his proposals.

When the season of the year permitted, Demetrius transported his forces out of Greece into Asia, and joined the troops of his father. Soon after, the two grand armies in Phrygia were ready for an engagement. B. C. 301. The forces of Antigonus amounted to seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants: those of the confederates to sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty chariots of war. Both armies were peculiarly anxious about the event of a battle, by which the fate of kingdoms was to be decided. Antigonus, who had never before been seen to shrink from danger, betrayed evident marks of fear on this occasion. In coming out of his tent on the morning of the battle, he stumbled and fell; which he superstitiously considered as an omen that his army would be defeated. This memorable and eventful engagement was fought near to Ipsus, a small town in the province of Phrygia. The troops on both sides fought with bravery; and victory was long and ably contested. At length, however, the brave Antigonus lost his life; the Syrians were completely defeated; and Demetrius, with much difficulty, effected his escape at the head of nine thousand men. In consequence of this victory, the whole empire of Alexander was divided as follows: Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, and Palestine, were assigned to Ptolemy; Macedonia and Greece to Cassander;

Bithynia and Thrace to Lysimachus; and the remaining territories in Asia, as far as the river Indus, which were called the kingdom of Syria, were given to Selencus.

CHAP. XXI.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Battle of Ipsus to the time when those Countries became Provinces of Rome.

CASSANDER experienced, in his exalted station, all the inquietudes of sovereign power; and was encompassed by crafty and powerful enemies. He died, however, in the peaceable possession of the throne of Macedon, to which the greatest part of Greece was now annexed. After his death, his two sons, Antipater and Alexander, laid claim to the kingdom. Alexander invited Pyrrhus king of Epirus, and Demetrius the son of Antigonus, to his assistance. Demetrius treacherously assassinated the young prince at an entertainment; and on his justifying this deed in a formal harangue, the Macedonians immediately saluted him king. Instead of repairing the devastations that his kingdom had suffered from constant wars, Demetrius immediately engaged in new military enterprizes against Greece, Ætolia, Epirus, and Thrace. He abandoned himself at the same time to luxury, vanity, and extreme haughtiness.

B. C. 298.

B. C. 294.

In consequence of these provocations, Pyrrhus, king

king of Epirus, invaded the Macedonian territories with a numerous and powerful army; Lysimachus poured his troops into the same country, on the side of Thrace; and Ptolemy attacked with a fleet the dominions of Demetrius in Greece. The usurper was thus obliged to abandon his kingdom; and though he made several attempts to regain possession of it, he was unsuccessful. Pyrrhus assumed the sovereignty of Macedon; but was in a little time expelled the kingdom by Lysimachus, who had acted in concert with him in the revolution of that country. Dissensions, however, arose in the family of Lysimachus, between his different queens and their offspring; that terminated (as is generally the case in despotic governments) in an act of assassination, which led the injured faction to request the assistance of Seleucus. This prince, who, though seventy-seven years of age, had still the activity and vigour of youth, willingly listened to the invitations of the enemies of Lysimachus, in the hope of being eventually able to annex the kingdom of Macedon and the states of Greece to the dominions he already possessed. He therefore met Lysimachus on a plain, on the borders of Phrygia, called the Field of Cyrus. Lysimachus was in the seventy-fourth year of his age. The opposing commanders were the only surviving generals of Alexander; and both fought with great bravery. The army of Lysimachus was defeated, and he himself was slain. B. C. 285.

Animated by a warm desire of taking possession of Macedon, Seleucus passed the Hellespont, and advanced with an army as far as Lysimachia in Thrace. In the neighbourhood of that

that city, however, he was basely murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, whom he had generously relieved, and for whose sake he had commenced the war.

Ptolemy, after performing this execrable deed, put on a diadem, and boldly declared himself king of Macedon. Not long after, a body of three hundred thousand Gauls leaving their country in quest of new settlements, followed the course of the Danube for a considerable way, and then divided into three parties, one of which made an irruption into the Macedonian kingdom. An obstinate and bloody engagement ensued: in which Ptolemy was taken prisoner, and put to death. Sosthenes, with the remains of the Macedonian troops, attacked and defeated the Gauls; but a fresh swarm of these barbarians, under the command of Brennus, attacked and totally destroyed the army of Sosthenes.

B. C. 280.

These invaders, having ravaged the whole country of Macedon, bent their course towards Greece. The Grecian states, animated by a sense of their extreme danger, collected their troops, and secured the straits of Thermopylæ. The Athenians, under the command of Galippus, headed this enterprise; and at the same time sent their fleets to the coast of Thessaly, to co-operate with the forces by land. The barbarians, after several fruitless attempts to force the pass, were obliged to desist. Brennus then dispersed some of his troops over Ætolia, to plunder that country, hoping by this stratagem to draw off the enemy from guarding the straits: still, however, he was unable to force a passage; and the detachment of his troops which had been sent

sent into Ætolia, exciting universal detestation by their rapacity and cruelty, were many of them cut off.

But the Thessalians induced by the selfish motive of freeing their own country from those burthensome strangers, at length directed Brennus to the path over mount Œta, by which the troops of Xerxes had entered Greece. He immediately proceeded to the temple at Delphos, with the design of plundering the sacred shrine of its accumulated treasures. The Delphians, however, inspired by a religious enthusiasm, made a vigorous sally, and defeated the enemy with great loss: the pursuit was continued for a whole day and night; and a violent storm and piercing cold co-operating with the efforts of the victors, most of the barbarians perished. Brennus was wounded, and in a frenzy of despair killed himself. Those who survived, having assembled together, endeavoured to make good a retreat; but the several nations rising against them in their progress, not one of the multitude which had poured out of Macedon into Greece, returned to his native land.

After the death of Sosthenes, and the evacuation of Macedon by the Gauls, Antigonus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius, assumed the sovereignty. The barbarians threatened another irruption into his newly-acquired kingdom, and sent deputies to know whether he was inclined to purchase a peace, Antigonus entertained the deputies with great splendour; and shewing them his camp, his army, and his treasures, told them he was not disposed to give that away which ought to be employed in protecting and defending his subjects. B. C. 278.

jects. The Gauls, however, allured by the report of these riches marched into the territories of Macedon, and plundered the camp of Antigonus, who had purposely abandoned it with this view: he then attacked the invaders, encumbered with their booty, and defeated them with great slaughter.

But before the Macedonian king could restore his country to its ancient lustre, he was obliged to contend with an adversary more powerful than the Gauls. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, indignant at the conduct of Antigonus in having refused to grant some succours, which he requested, invaded the frontiers of Macedon, and was joined by some of the soldiers of Antigonus, who deserted the standard of their monarch. An engagement ensued; in which the forces of Antigonus were defeated, and most of them cut off, and he himself was under the necessity of quitting his kingdom. Returning again, however, after the departure of Pyrrhus, who had left his son Ptolemy in charge of the whole of his conquest, he suffered a second defeat, and escaped with only seventeen attendants.

While these transactions took place in Macedonia, Cleonymus endeavoured to possess himself of the throne of Sparta, after the death of Eudamidas, to the exclusion of Arcus the legitimate successor. The people, however, inclining to favour the latter, Cleonymus applied for redress to Pyrrhus; who marched an army into the Lacedœmonian territory, composed of twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants. Arcus was at this time absent in the island of Crete with the flower of the

the Lacedœmonian army. After an obstinate assault upon the city, which was as obstinately resisted, and which was carried on for three days successively, Pyrrhus was compelled to retire toward his own dominions. Antigonus and Arcus, who had arrived at Sparta to succour the place, harassed his rear in the retreat. Pyrrhus ordered his son Ptolemy to his assistance; but the young prince, exposing himself too much, was slain. The king of Epirus directed his course to Argos; but Arcus followed him to that city with a thousand infantry, and while the Argives engaged the army Pyrrhus in front, the Spartans attacked them in the rear. By these means, the Epirots suffered very considerably; and Pyrrhus lost his life in the course of the hostilities. With regard to the character of this monarch, it will be sufficient to observe that Hannibal pronounced him the greatest general the world had ever beheld, and superior even to Scipio.

After the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus resumed the sovereignty of Macedon. As he had, besides, very extensive possessions in the heart of Peloponnesus, the neighbouring states became jealous of his power, and formed a confederacy against him. The Gauls also threatened another irruption into his territories. Antigonus, however, engaged the barbarians in a general battle, and cut them off to a man. After this victory, he meditated nothing less than the reduction of all Greece. He marched an army to Athens; and notwithstanding that city was powerfully supported by troops from Sparta and Egypt, he compelled it to receive a Macedonian garrison. In the midst of his success, however, he was recalled

called to the defence of his kingdom against Alexander, the young king of Epirus, who had entered Macedon, and committed great depredations: but ambition still led him to pursue new conquests. After employing much time in the attempt, he at length made himself master of the city of Corinth; which was again surprised and taken from him. He died at the age of above eighty years, and after a reign (altogether) of thirty-four.

B. C. 243. Demetrius succeeded his father Antigonus on the throne. The principal transactions of his reign were intended to maintain an interest in the Grecian states, not by possessing the dominion himself, but by supporting the several tyrants who had usurped it. Demetrius reigned only six years, and was succeeded by his kinsman Antigonus.

About this time the republic of Achaia, which had been formerly little known, began to make a very conspicuous figure, and seemed to aim at nothing less than the sovereignty of all Greece. This state was of high antiquity, and consisted of twelve towns. The republic of Ætolia was at this period second in power to that of Achaia, and formed on the same plan.

In consequence of the influx of wealth, Lacedæmon had now exchanged poverty and hardy discipline for opulence and voluptuousness. Agis, the Spartan king, endeavoured to restore the ancient simplicity, to enforce the sumptuary laws, to cancel all debts, and to make a new division of lands. The people generally favoured his designs; but the few, in whose hands the wealth of Sparta centered, opposed them; and Agis was at length put to death, on pretence

pretence of attempting a revolution in the government.

In such a situation of affairs, Cleomenes mounted the Spartan throne; a prince who possessed an ardent passion for glory, united with great temperance and simplicity of manners. In the beginning of his reign he was under the necessity of exerting himself to support the tottering power of the state. Domestic distress, with its concomitant evils, had caused an almost universal languor, despondency, and depopulation, throughout Laconia. Such was the miserable decay of both public and private virtue, when Cleomenes, actuated no less by his natural disposition than by the representations of the Ætolians, proceeded to an open rupture with the Achæan states.

B. C. 242.

The Spartan king attacked and took Tegea, Mantinæa, and Orchomenes, cities in Arcadia. He then marched his army against a certain castle in the district of Megalopolis, which commanded the entrance of Laconia on that side. Immediately after these acts of hostility, the states of Achaia declared war against Sparta. Cleomenes took the field with his troops, which, were not numerous, but were inspired with the greatest ardour for military enterprizes. The Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand infantry and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristemachus. Cleomenes, with not more than five thousand troops, offered battle to the enemy. Aratus however, who bore the title of general of the Achæan states, would not permit the military commander to hazard an engagement. In consequence therefore of the retreat of the Achæans, Aratus suffered the reproaches

proaches of his own troops, and the raillery of the enemy; and the Eleans, who had never been the steady friends of Achaia, openly declared against that republic. Cleomenes afterward defeated the Achæans in a severe encounter; but Aratus taking advantage even of his retreat, turned his arms immediately against Mantinæa; and before the enemy were aware of his designs made himself master of that city, which he garrisoned with a body of troops.

The Achæans, attempting to chastise the defection of the Eleans, were again routed by Cleomenes; and in the next campaign were totally overthrown near Luctra. After finishing these campaigns, the Spartan king returned to his dominions with the mercenary troops only. He sent forward a small detachment of forces, who surprised the ephori, and killed four of them immediately; and the fifth was only saved by feigning himself dead. Cleomenes endeavoured to justify this sanguinary measure to the people by arraigning the unconstitutional establishment of this order of magistrates, and by his reciting many of their iniquitous proceedings during his absence.

Cleomenes then advanced with his troops into the territories of Megalopolis, and committed great devastation. He took several places from the Achæans, ravaged the possessions of their allies, and followed the retreating army of the enemy. The Achæans having encamped with all their forces in the territories of Dymæ, Cleomenes pursued them thither, attacked them and obtained a complete victory. The Mantinæans at the same time rebelled against the Achæan garrison stationed in their city, put

them

them all to the sword, and then placed themselves under the protection of the Spartans. Most of the other cities in Peloponnesus followed his example. The Achæans were extremely dejected at these losses, and became apprehensive of the greatest calamities from Sparta. In this extremity they sued for peace from Cleomenes; but Aratus, who had lately declined the office of general of the Achæan states, again resumed his authority in public affairs, and used all his efforts to dissuade the Achæans from coming to any terms with their enemies.

The interruption of the negociation for peace raised a general ferment throughout Peloponnesus. The conduct of Aratus fired the martial and ambitious mind of Cleomenes. Most of the Achæan states began to revolt, and separate from the confederacy; because the people had hoped for a division of the lands and a discharge of their debts, and also grew weary of the power of Aratus.

Cleomenes would gladly have engaged the friendship of Aratus, but that politician was immovable in his designs of destroying the Spartan authority. As he found, however, that his countrymen could not effect this of themselves, he entertained the project of calling in the assistance of Antigonus, king of Macedon, to accomplish his intentions; a measure held in almost universal odium by the Greeks. Aratus, however, contrived to surmount this difficulty by artifice; and Antigonus with great pleasure embraced the opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Greece. A treaty was agreed on by Aratus and Antigonus; the conditions of which made it evident that the in- B. C. 227.

dependence of Achaia was no more, and that Antigonus was the real sovereign of that country.

This transaction roused the indignation of the Peleponnesians, who now looked to Cleomenes as the only protector of their liberties. In the mean time Antigonus began his march toward Peloponnesus, at the head of twenty thousand foot and fourteen hundred horse; and, arriving at the isthmus, encamped opposite to Cleomenes, who had fortified with a ditch and rampart the whole space between Corinth and the Onian hills. Antigonus, not thinking it adviseable or even practicable, to force a passage, was preparing to decamp and transport his troops by sea to Sicyon. But, the Argives having revolted from the Spartans and joined the enemy, Cleomenes was apprehensive that the Achæans would attack him in the rear while the Macedonians assaulted his front; and therefore he retired with precipitation, first to Argos and then to Mantinæa.

The Achæans now resumed their superiority in Peloponnesus; and Corinth, Tegæa, Mantinæa, Horea, and Telphassa, with many other places, immediately submitted to the combined arms of Macedon and Achaia. Antigonus having sent his troops home for winter quarters, Cleomenes attacked and took the city of Megalopolis, which he gave up to be plundered by his soldiers. He also laid waste the Argian territories. Antigonus was at that time in Argos with a few mercenary troops; but though the enemy insulted him he could not be prevailed on to engage Cleomenes. The Argives pressed him to take the field and protect his friends, or to resign

resign the command to some person less timorous than himself; but the king remained deaf to all their reproaches and remonstrances.

In the beginning of the summer, however, being desirous of retrieving the reputation he had lost among the Achæans, he advanced into Laconia with an army of twenty-eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. Cleomenes had previously fortified all the passes and avenues into that country with ramparts, and now sent detachments of troops to defend them. He also marched himself with a body of twenty thousand foot; and encamped at a pass called Sellasia, formed by two hills, the Eva and Olympus. Having thrown up an entrenchment at the foot of these high and steep mountains, he posted the auxiliaries on the eminence of Eva, under the command of his brother Euclidas, while he himself, with the rest of the army, took possession of Olympus. Between those two hills ran the river Oenus, along the banks of which the road to Sparta extended.

When Antigonus arrived, and viewed the situation of the ground with the fortifications and mode of defence adopted by the enemy, he was sensible that no part could be attacked with any probability of success. He therefore encamped at a small distance, on the banks of the Gorgulus, which covered part of his army. Cleomenes, reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions, was under the necessity of throwing open his entrenchments, and of engaging the enemy without further delay. The victory remained for a long time doubtful; but at length Cleomenes, receiving intelligence that the forces under his bro- B C. 223.

ther were defeated upon the hill, and that his cavalry began to give way on the plain, sounded a retreat. The overthrow then became general; great numbers of the Lacedæmonians were cut in pieces, and those who found means to escape fled from the field of battle in the greatest confusion. Cleomenes, with a few horse, retreated to Sparta, and from thence fled to Egypt, where, not being being able to brook the indignities offered him by the ministers of Ptolemy Philopater, he suffered an honourable but untimely death. In Cleomenes ended the Herculean race of Spartan kings, if we except the short reign of Agasipolis.

While Antigonus was absent in Greece, the Illyrians entered Macedon with a powerful army. Being, therefore, recalled to the defence of his kingdom, he advanced with his troops against the invaders, whom he attacked and defeated. In straining his voice, however, during the engagement, he burst a blood-vessel; which occasioned his death in a few days, to the regret of all Greece.

Antigonus the Second was succeeded by Philip the son of Demetrius, the last of the Macedonian kings of that name. At the time of his accession to the throne this prince was only in the seventeenth year of his age: he was intelligent, affable, munificent, and attentive to the duties of his station.

B. C. 221.

The jealousy, which the Ætolians had long entertained of the Achæan states, was now increased by the importance which the latter had assumed from their alliance with Macedon. Immediately after Antigonus was dead, they ravaged the Achæan coast, and committed great depredations

depredations on all the neighbouring countries. Aratus attacked them with a very inferior force, and was totally defeated. The Achæans were, therefore, under the necessity of again applying to Macedon to request the assistance of the new monarch. Philip promised that he would aid them with the whole strength of his kingdom; and accordingly soon after set out for Greece, and arrived at Corinth.

Complaints being made against the Ætolians by almost every city in Peloponnesus, war was unanimously declared by Philip and the confederates. In the mean time the Ætolians, having made a fresh irruption into Peloponnesus, assaulted and took Cynætha, a city of Arcadia, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and laid the place in ruins. This conduct of the Ætolians increased the general indignation of the Peloponnesians against that people, and gave birth to a new social war.

The Ætolians, being now joined by the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, attacked the Achæan states on all sides, and gained very considerable advantage. Philip marched an army into Epirus, and laid siege to Ambracia, a city garrisoned by the Ætolians, of which he made himself master in forty days. While he was employed before this place, a numerous army of Ætolians entered Macedon; and ravaging the country without opposition, returned home laden with plunder. After the surrender of Ambracia, Philip entered Ætolia; and would have soon reduced the whole country, had he not been recalled home to repress the incursions of the Dardanians.

In the mean time the Ætolians, under the

command of Dorinachus, marched into Upper Epirus, laid waste all that territory, and burned the temple of Dodona to the ground. Philip having notice of these transactions hastened to Corinth, where a party of his forces were stationed. While the king proceeded to Caphya, he met with a detachment of Eleans, who were advancing to plunder the territory of Sicyon. These he attacked and cut off. He then reduced Psophis, a strong-hold within the confines of Arcadia, of which the Eleans had taken possession; and soon after entered and laid waste the country of the Eleans, the finest province of Greece with respect to cultivation, and rich in every kind of rural wealth. Philip then brought under subjection the Trymphalians, a people that inhabited a district of Pelopponnesus to the south of Elis; and wrested the Messenians from the dominion of Ætolia.

In the midst of these important services the king began to manifest some latent seeds of ambition. Apelles, a minister appointed by Antigonus, endeavoured by secret practices to reduce the Achæans to slavery; but Aratus complaining to the king of the conduct of Apelles, the pride and power of that minister were immediately repressed. In a short time, however, Philip espoused the part of Eparatus; who had been elected general of the Achæan states in opposition to Aratus. To counterbalance this unpopular measure, and strengthen himself in the affections of the citizens of Achaia, the Macedonian monarch laid siege to Teichos; which he took and restored to the Achæans, its original masters. He also made an inroad into Elis; and, ravaging the whole country, presented the spoils

to

to the Dymeans, and the cities in that neighbourhood. He imagined that the wealth and vigour of the Achæans would be entirely at his disposal; but the new general had provided no magazines, and the treasury was exhausted. Thus disappointed, he affected to place great confidence in Aratus by whose advice he marched from Corinth with a body of horse, intending to invade the Lacedæmonian territories by surprize; and, after proceeding four days through a desert country, he gained the tops of those hills which command the city of Sparta. The Lacedæmonians were greatly alarmed when they perceived the young monarch in their country, and approaching the gates of their metropolis. Philip laid waste many parts of the enemy's territory, took and destroyed several towns, defeated a Lacedæmonian army under the command of Lycurgus, and returned to Corinth with an immense booty.

Philip, elated by his long course of prosperity, now began to meditate the reduction of all Greece, and determined to effect a junction with Hannibal against the Romans; the Carthaginian general having lately obtained a great victory over that people, near the lake Thrasymene, in Tuscany. He, therefore, sent commissioners to treat with Hannibal, and with the Carthaginian deputies in the camp. The persons, however, whom he appointed to this office, were seized by the Romans soon after their landing in Italy; but as they asserted that they were going to Rome, they were permitted to proceed on their journey. After their arrival at the camp of Hanibal, it was agreed that the king of Macedon

don and the republic of Carthage should consider the Romans as common enemies; and that, after uniting their arms and reducing the power of the Roman people, they should pursue their conquests in Greece, for the purpose of extending the dominions of Macedon.

In vain did Aratus dissuade Philip from this project. He entered the Ionian gulf with a large fleet; took Oricum, on the coast of Epirus, and laid siege to Apollonia. Here, however, he was surprised and defeated by the Romans: and retreated homeward across the mountains.

The Romans, greatly humbled by the victorious arms of Hannibal, were not in a condition, at that time, to prosecute a war with Macedon; but they determined if possible, to raise up enemies against Philip in Greece. Accordingly, overtures for that purpose were made to the Ætolians; who, confiding in the flattering declarations of the Roman ambassador, not only concluded a treaty themselves but engaged Sparta and Elis, together with the Illyrians, in the cause of Rome. Hostilities immediately commenced; and the Romans having taken Zacynthus, Æniadæ, and Nasus, restored those places to the Ætolians. Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, invaded the territories of the Achæans; who sent a deputation to Philip, to request his assistance. Philip lost no time in marching into Greece to defend the possessions of his allies; and the Ætolians, under Pyrrhus, who was appointed commander that year in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him, as far as Lamia. A battle ensued, in which the Ætolians and their

B. C. 211.

their allies were defeated; and another engagement soon after took place, in which also Philip gained a decisive victory.

The Macedonian king now marched against Elis, which had received an Ætolian garrison. After plundering the territory, he was attacked by the confederate army, among whom were four thousand Romans commanded by the proconsul Sulpitius. The battle was long, and was obstinately fought. Here Philopœmen, who led the Achæan horse, struck dead with his lance the commander of the Ætolian cavalry. Philip, seeing his army give way, rushed headlong among the enemies, and was with the greatest difficulty saved by his soldiers. After having desolated the whole territory, the monarch was obliged to return to his own kingdom to defend it against the ravages of the Dardians.

Early in the spring, Sulpitius and Attalus, quitting their winter quarters, sailed to Eubœa, and obtained possession of Orcum in that island. Attalus also laid siege to the city of Opus in Achaia, which he took; but Philip approaching with his army, he retired precipitately toward his ships.

In the mean time Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmon, advanced with a powerful force into Achaia. He could not, however, have chosen a more improper time for his expedition; for the illustrious Philopœmen was that year created general of the Achæan states. No sooner was that able soldier raised to this important office than he began to re-establish military discipline among the troops. Having assembled his army at Mantinæa, he offered battle to Machanidas. An obstinate conflict ensued. Machanidas

chanidas at first had the advantage; but pursuing the flying troops too far, Philopœmon attacked him in the rear. He also killed Machanidas with his own hand; and this event put an end to the engagement, in which the Lacedæmonians lost four thousand men.

The Ætolians, finding themselves deserted by the Romans, concluded a peace with Philip. Soon after, Publius Sempronius the proconsul arrived with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty-five gallies, to the assistance of the Ætolians. He was easily prevailed on by that people, to agree to an accommodation between the Romans and the king of Macedon. Accordingly a treaty of amity was concluded, in which Philip caused the king of Bithynia, the Achæans, the Bœotians, the Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots, to be included. The Romans on their side named king Attalus, Pleuratus a petty prince of Illyricum, Nabis tyrant of Sparta, the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians.

B. C. 203.

Philip having settled his affairs at home, and finding that the fortune of the Carthaginians was declining, endeavoured to extend his dominions in the east. He therefore attacked the Rhodians, Athenians, and king Attalus, contrary to the express terms of the treaty. At the request of the Athenians, therefore, war was declared against him by the Romans; and Sulpitius the consul was appointed to carry it on. The Romans dispatched a fleet for the relief of Athens, then besieged by the Macedonians. Thus disappointed in his purposes, Philip laid waste the whole Athenian territory.

The command of the Roman army devolving on

on Titus Quintius Flaminius, that general had the address to detach the Achæans from the Macedonian interest. An engagement soon after took place near the mountains of Cynocephalæ, in Thessaly, in which Philip was defeated with the loss of thirteen thousand men, while the Romans lost not more than seven hundred. The Macedonian king was now obliged to sue for peace, on such conditions as Rome and her allies were pleased to impose. B. C. 197.

Flaminius, having expelled Nabis the tyrant of Sparta from Argos, left Greece to enjoy the liberty and happiness he had restored, and returned to Rome with all the Roman garrisons.

The Ætolians were the only Grecian people dissatisfied with the peace; on account of some cities which had been withheld from them. They therefore insinuated to Nabis the contemptible condition to which he was reduced by the Romans; and that Achaia possessed all Peloponnesus, while he was permitted to retain Sparta only. Nabis was well inclined to undertake any attempt against the Romans, and therefore immediately laid siege to Gitium. Philopœmen, however, cut off his army soon afterward in the neighbourhood of Sparta, and besieged the tyrant in his own metropolis. Nabis was soon after killed by a body of Ætolians, who surprised Sparta; and this state now joined the Achæan confederacy. B. C. 192.

In the mean time the Ætolians persuaded Antiochus, king of Syria, to pass over into Greece, with the design of expelling the Romans from that country. Accordingly he entered

tered Greece with a small force; but being disappointed of the succours he expected from the several states, he was defeated at the straits of Thermopylæ by Manius Acilius Glabrio the Roman consul. A deputation was soon after sent from the Ætolians, to solicit a peace from the Roman people. The conditions, however, which were imposed upon them, were extremely hard. They were heavily fined; compelled to give up several of their cities and territories to the Romans; and to deliver to the consul forty hostages, to be chosen by him. They were also commanded to pay *observance* to the *empire*, and *majesty* of the Roman people.

The Roman senate began now to conceive a jealousy of the power and reputation of the Achæans. Though confederated with Achaia, each of the Peloponnesian cities retained its peculiar privileges, and a species of independent sovereignty. After the peace had been concluded with Ætolia, and Cephallenia reduced, the Romans had stationed M. Fulvius Nobilior in that island, for the alleged purpose of deciding any disputes which should arise in Greece, but in fact to improve and foment every dissension for the aggrandisement of Rome. The general assembly of the Achæans had been always held at Ægium; but Philopœmen, who was now at the head of that state, thought fit to divide the honour and advantages of the congress among the several cities of the league, and appointed Argos for the next place of meeting. The inhabitants of Ægium opposed this regulation, and appealed to the decision of the Roman consul in Cephallenia.

Besides this, Fulvius had another pretext for passing

passing over into Greece. During the tyranny which existed in Sparta, many of the Lacedæmonians had been driven into exile, and inhabited the maritime cities of Laconia, protected by Achæan garrisons. These men had cut off the inhabitants of Lacedæmon from all intercourse with the sea coast. This restraint the Spartans could not brook; and therefore attacked in the night a small city called Las, but were repulsed. Philopœmen represented to the assembly this attempt as an insult offered to all Achaia; and a decree was enacted that the Lacedæmonians should deliver up the authors of that outrage, on pain of being considered as enemies. The Lacedæmonians not only refused to obey the decree, but put to death the Achæans who were sent to inform them of it, and then dispatched ambassadors to Fulvius, requesting him to come and take possession of their city. Philopœmen, however, advanced with an army into Laconia, and laid waste the territories. By the emissaries of the Romans, the Messenians had been prevailed on to take up arms against the Achæans; and Philopœmen, hastening to suppress the insurgents, fell into their hands, and was put to death. The Romans, by this means, being invited to act as umpires, soon found means to destroy the strength of Achaia, by seducing its confederate states.

During these transactions in Greece, the Romans were endeavouring to quarrel with Philip, king of Macedon, that they might seize his possessions and deprive him of his power. For that purpose they encouraged the cantons or communities, which Philip had lately annexed to his dominions, to assert their independence;

and commissioners being sent from Rome to determine this difference, the king was ordered to content himself with Macedon in its ancient state, and by a formal decree was required to withdraw his garrisons from Ænus and Maronea, two maritime towns of Thrace. Philip accordingly was obliged to withdraw his troops from those places; but at the same time resolved to revenge himself on the Maronites, whose complaints had procured the decree. As the soldiers, therefore, were leaving Maronea, a body of Thracians was privately admitted into the town, who plundered it with all the circumstances of cruelty and avarice. The Roman deputies obtaining intelligence of this atrocious deed, the king was summoned to justify himself before the senate.

Though Philip considered this order as the most mortifying indignity that could be offered to an independent prince, he was nevertheless under the necessity of obeying it. He therefore sent his son Demetrius to apologize for his conduct before the Roman senate. When the young prince heard the articles of impeachment read against Philip, he was so affected that he was unable to utter a word in his father's defence. His modesty had a favourable effect on the senators; and he was encouraged to read the notes he had brought for the justification of the king, whose excuses were accepted. Demetrius carried home the senate's ratification of a treaty, with this express clause, that Philip owed it entirely to their regard for his son.

This last circumstance was not at all agreeable to the king; who feared that the Romans were endeavouring to attach Demetrius to their

own

own interest. His suspicion was inflamed by the insinuations and dark artifices of his eldest son, Perseus; a prince who is said to have been of a turbulent licentious disposition, sordid, ungenerous, and subtle.

Perseus had conceived such a jealousy of his brother that he endeavoured, by every insidious art, to undermine him in the favour of the king. He accused Demetrius of an attempt to murder him at the instigation of the Romans. Demetrius, on the other hand, defended himself with equal spirit and resolution; refuting the charge as groundless, and recriminating upon his brother for his unnatural malice and ambition. Philip blamed Demetrius for acting in such a manner as to give the least pretence for his brother's charge; and reprehended Perseus for putting the worst construction on dubious actions. In order, however, that he might remove from his own breast all doubts as to the intentions of his younger son, the king sent Philocles and Apelles, two Macedonian noblemen, as ambassadors to Rome. They were privately instructed to inquire into the conduct of Demetrius in that city; and to discover with whom he corresponded, and what schemes he had formed.

These deputies, perceiving that the affections of Philip inclined to Perseus, concerted with that prince what report they should make on their return from Rome; and it was resolved between them that, when Philocles and Apelles came back to Macedon, they should speak tenderly of Demetrius, and should present the king with a letter from Quintus Flaminicus, with whose seal and hand writing Philip was well acquainted. In this letter the Roman interceded

earnestly with the king in favour of his younger son, and excused his evil actions on account of his youth. He besought the king to forget the measures of which he had been guilty that he might supplant his brother; and exhorted him the more to comply with this advice, as the Romans would not countenance the criminality of Demetrius in aiming at the throne.

Philip, now not doubting that he had discovered the whole truth, gave orders to one of his generals to arrest Demetrius, and to take him off by poison, lest the populace, who loved him, should be informed of what was intended. The poison, however, working slowly, two ruffians were employed, who smothered the innocent and hopeful prince. Philip was soon after apprised of the injustice of this proceeding, and that the letter had been forged to answer the purposes of Perseus. On receiving this information, he fell into a melancholy, which in a little time put an end to his existence.

B. C. 179. Upon the death of Philip, Perseus assumed the reins of government. The first measures of his administration were remarkably mild, and he affected a strict regard to justice. He assumed an air of benignity and gentleness. He sat daily to hear causes, and his decisions were generally made with prudence and discernment. The same disposition which he displayed toward his own subjects he exhibited in his conduct with foreign states. He sent an embassy to the Romans, entreating them to renew the treaty made with his father, and to acknowledge him king of Macedon; in return for which he promised that he would act as their faithful ally, and undertake no war without their

their permission. The senate, therefore, acknowledged his title to the throne, and pronounced him the friend of the Roman people.

His conduct was so gracious, and his insinuations and intrigues with his neighbours so effectual, that most of the Grecian states inclined to his alliance; and he soon afterward pretended to be the patron of the liberties of Greece, against the pride and dominion of Rome. In his own kingdom he not only amassed great sums of money, but provided magazines for a numerous army for ten years; and kept up, at the same time, a military establishment of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse.

The Romans, informed of these proceedings, dispatched ambassadors to Macedon to question Perseus as to his intention in these measures. The king, only answered with pride and insolence; and a war commenced between the two nations. An army was immediately sent into Greece, under the command of P. Licinius Crassus, which for three years did nothing worthy of notice. At length, the Romans, dissatisfied with the conduct of the war in Macedonia, resolved to change their generals. Accordingly, the consul Paulus Æmilius was vested with the command of the army in that kingdom; and this commander soon after attacked and drove Perseus from his entrenchments on the banks of the river Enipeus, and forced him to retire precipitately to Pydna. Here the armies came to a general engagement; and the Macedonians being broken and routed with a great slaughter, Perseus fled with a few horsemen to Pella, the metropolis and strongest city of his dominions. Not thinking himself

safe even here, he fled with precipitation to Amphipolis. Fearing still that the Amphipolitans would deliver him into the hands of the Romans, he mounted a tribunal in order to harangue them; but his tears flowed so fast that, after several attempts, he found it impracticable to make an oration. The inhabitants refusing to permit him to stay any longer in that city, he hastened to the sea coast; from whence he sailed to the island of Samothrace, and sought refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux.

Abandoned now by all the world, without forces, without friends, and without hope, he surrendered himself and his eldest son Philip into the hands of Octavius; who conveyed them immediately to Amphipolis, and then dispatched an express to inform the consul of what had happened. Perseus approached the consul with the most abject servility, bowing his face to the earth, and endeavouring with his suppliant arms to grasp his knees. "Wretched man!" said Œmilius, "why dost thou acquit fortune of what might seem her crime, by a behaviour that evinces thou deservest not her indignation? Why dost thou disgrace my laurels, by shewing thyself an abject adversary, and unworthy of having a Roman to contend with?" He then gave him his hand, and would not suffer him to kneel; and encouraged him with an assurance of safety from the clemency of the Roman people.

The Roman army plundered all that part of Epirus which had espoused the cause of Perseus; and then embarking sailed for Italy. Perseus was afterward led in triumph through the streets of Rome; and then cast into a dungeon, where

where he starved himself to death. Philip died before his father; but Perseus left a son, named Alexander, who was afterward appointed a clerk or secretary to the Roman senate.

Some years after this, two or three pretenders arose successively, who claimed a right to the sovereignty of Macedon. This afforded, what had been greatly desired, a pretence for reducing that kingdom into a Roman province. Accordingly, from that time, Macedonia and its dependencies were reduced to the same state as other nations conquered by the Romans.

Not long afterward, disturbances broke out in Achaia, and war was declared against Sparta. The Romans sent commissioners to terminate this dispute. The Achæans, however, were extremely exasperated against the Romans; and the Corinthians particularly distinguished themselves in their opposition to that proud and imperious people. The Bœotians and the people of Chalcis joined the confederacy; and these several states seemed to be actuated by a destiny which was hurrying them to their own ruin. Metellus marched an army against them; and obtained a complete victory, in which he took more than one thousand prisoners. He also fell in with one thousand Arcadians, all of whom he put to the sword. He then proceeded to Thebes; but most of the inhabitants had quitted that city.

In the mean time Mummius, the consul of the present year, arrived from Rome with new levies, which increased the army to twenty-three thousand foot and three thousand five hundred horse. With these forces he advanced toward Corinth against the enemy, who had shut themselves

selves up in that city with fourteen thousand foot and six thousand horse under the command of Diæus. An engagement took place under the walls of Corinth, and the Greeks were defeated: the greater part fled into the town, but in the night withdrew from that place; and Diæus himself took refuge in Megalopolis, whither he had before sent his family. He killed his wife to prevent her from falling into the hands of the enemy, and then took poison, of which he died. On the third day after the action, the victorious general entered Corinth; and, with the exception only of the statues and pictures intended for his triumph, gave the town, abounding with all the accommodations and ornaments of a wealthy metropolis, to be plundered by his soldiers. The walls were then razed; and the city reduced to ashes. Thus perished Corinth, in the same year with Carthage.

B. C. 146.

Soon after, ten commissioners arrived from Rome, to regulate, in conjunction with the consul, the affairs of Greece in general, and of Achaia in particular. They abolished popular government in all the cities; and established magistrates, who were to govern each state according to their respective laws, under the superintendence of a Roman prætor. Thus the Achæan league was dissolved, and all Greece reduced to a Roman province, called the province of Achaia, because at the taking of Corinth the Achæans were the most powerful body of Greece. The whole nation paid an annual tribute to Rome, which the prætor, who was sent thither every year, had the care of collecting.

Athens continued in the same state as the rest of

of the Grecian communities, until the Mithridatic war; when that city openly declared against the Romans. Mithridates dispatched into Greece an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, under the command of Archelaus; who soon made himself master of Athens, and compelled Lacedæmon, Achaia, and Bœotia, to join him also. He took up his abode in Athens. Sylla, being appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates, entered Greece with five legions; and all the cities, except Athens, immediately opened their gates to him. B. C. 88.

He first attempted to force his way into the Piræus by scaling the walls; but, being repulsed, he had recourse to the ordinary means of attack. He erected towers; and, raising them to the same height as the battlements, got upon the same level as the besieged, and plied them with missile weapons. Battering engines assailed the walls, or with galleries he undermined them: but the defence of the place was equally obstinate and vigorous; and he was obliged, after many fruitless attempts, to turn the siege into a blockade, and to wait the effects of famine.

Athens was in a little time brought to the last extremity. Those who were confined within the walls, having consumed all the herbage and killed all the animals in the place, were under the necessity of feeding on the implements of leather or other materials which might be turned into sustenance, and at last to prey on the carcasses of their dead companions. The garrison was greatly diminished; and those who remained were dispirited and weak; but Aristion, the tyrant

tyrant of the place, expecting no quarter for himself from the Romans, would not consent to capitulate. Sylla, therefore, knowing the weak state of the besieged, stormed and forced the walls with great slaughter. Aristion sought refuge in the citadel, but was taken and slain. Macedonia and Greece were soon afterward reduced again under the power of Rome; as were also the Grecian provinces in Asia Minor.

B. C. 87.

The Greeks were never surpassed by any race of men in the vigour with which they supported their republican establishments; and they appeared to retain their ingenuity and their skill in many arts, long after they had lost the military and political spirit which constitutes the strength and security of nations. Both the enmity and the friendship of the Roman republic proved equally fatal to the Grecian states: the one deprived them of freedom; the other sunk them into indolence and apathy.

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